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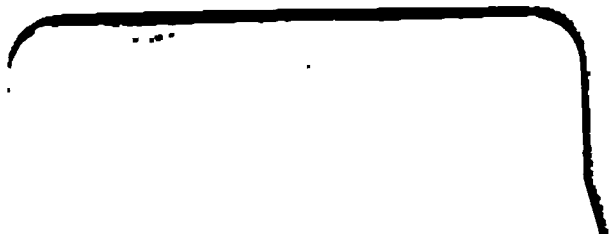
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THE
JEWISH WAR
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS:

A NEW TRANSLATION,

BY THE LATE

REV. ROBERT TRAILL, D.D. M.R.I.A.

EDITED, WITH NOTES, BY ISAAC TAYLOR.

With Pictorial Illustrations.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON:
HOULSTON AND STONEMAN, PATERNOSTER ROW.
DUBLIN: CURRY, JUN. & CO.
1851.

110. C. 28.

LONDON :
R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

	PAGE
PREFACE AND POSTSCRIPT	i

THE JEWISH WAR.

BOOK III.	1
BOOK IV.	49
BOOK V.	109
BOOK VI.	167
BOOK VII.	210

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES—(continued.)

Supposed Remains of Herodium	lxv
Excavation; City Wall, North	lxix
Magdala	lxxi
The Plain of Gennesareth	lxxiii
Hatin	lxxv
Scythopolis, (Bethshan)	lxxvi
The Lake Phiala	lxxx
Beit Jenn	lxxxiv
Kulat Ibn' Ma'an	lxxxv
Damascus Gate.	lxxxvi
North-East Corner of the Haram	lxxxviii
Om Keis (Gadara)	ibid.
Julius Cæsar	lxxxix
Saracenic Tower on a Tributary of the Jordan	xc
Masada, Northern Face	xc
Lower Pool, at Hebron	ibid.
Hippicus, and Western Angle of the City Wall	xciii
Haram, Principal Entrance (West Side)	xciv
Djebail; or Gebal	xcv

	PAGE
Village of Siloam, and El Aksa	xcvi
Streets in Jerusalem	<i>ibid.</i>
Zion	xcviii
The Golden Gate	<i>ibid.</i>
The Mount of Olives, as seen from the Eastern Slope of Zion	xcix
Eastern Entrance of the Great Mosque at Hebron	c
View from the Mount of Olives	ci
The Pools of Solomon	cii
Vault beneath El Aksa	ciii
Gaza	cv
Pool of Bethesda	<i>ibid.</i>
Tiberias and the Lake	cvi
Tripoli and Castle	cvi
The Jews' Place of Wailing	<i>ibid.</i>
Conjectural View of the Viaduct as in the time of Herod	cix
Masada	<i>ibid.</i>
Pool of the Virgin	cxv
Stone at Baalbec	cxvi
Anathoth	<i>ibid.</i>

Note relative to Maps of Galilee	cxvii
Note relative to the Topography of the Ancient Jerusalem	cxix
Notes relating to Josephus	cxxii
Critical Notes on some Passages in the War	clix
Chronological Summary of the Seven Books of the War	clxii
On the predicted Destruction of the Jewish Polity, City, and Temple . .	clxxv
Explanation of the Jewish Calendar	cxci
Genealogical Table of the Asmonæan, or Maccabæan Family	cxcii
Genealogical Table of Herod's Family	cxcii

INDEX.
LIST OF PLATES.

P R E F A C E

TO THE SECOND VOLUME.



IN resuming his task after so long an interval as three years, the Editor feels himself called upon to state, briefly at least, the circumstances to which this unlooked-for delay is attributable.

The lamented death of the Translator, DR. TRAILL, occurred at the very moment when the **FOURTH PART** of the Work, completing the **FIRST VOLUME**, was issuing from the press. Public sympathy was at the time vividly excited by this event, connected as it was with the national disasters and woes which have made that period so memorable in the history of Ireland. Dr. Traill fell a victim to the generous and extraordinary exertions made by him, during that winter of horrors—1846-47, to alleviate the sufferings of his parishioners and neighbours. Among the many instances of Christian heroism which marked that season of calamity, few were more deserving of admiration than the one with which we have now to do; and the Editor would think it a culpable omission were he not, on this occasion, to dedicate a page to the memory of his deceased friend.

Whatever might have been Dr. Traill's intellectual endowments, or his accomplishments, it was his animation—his unwearied energy—his vivid and effective sympathies—his devotedness in labours of charity, and the zealous and affectionate discharge of his duties as

a parish minister, that most distinguished him; and in the exercise of these useful virtues it was that he had become known, and had made himself the object of affection in his circle. It might have been difficult for those who knew him only as the pastor, and as the friend of the poor, and who witnessed his daily toils, as such, to imagine or believe that, even after the time when the spreading distress of the district had rendered these duties in the last degree arduous and oppressive, Dr. Traill still found time for carrying forward his usual literary labours, which in fact were not remitted until his last illness threatened his life. It was from that bed from which he did not rise, that he wrote to his friend—"Send me no more proofs—I am upon a fever bed." The habit of rising at the earliest hour, and—during the winter, long before dawn, had given him a command of time which enabled him to accomplish literary tasks without trenching upon his duties as the minister of an extensive parish.

Dr. Robert Traill, third son of the Rev. Anthony Traill, Archdeacon of Connor, and of Agnes, daughter of William Watts Gayer, LL.D., was born at Lisburn, county of Antrim, July 15, 1793. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in the autumn of the year 1814, and joining the class of the then ending year, passed the examination which immediately followed in a manner that excited the surprise of the Examiners. He went through his college course with marked credit, and at its conclusion spent a year or two in France and Italy. Soon after his return to England, in 1820, he was ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester, in whose diocese he held for some time a curacy. He then revisited his native country, acted as curate in several parishes, and attracted much attention by his vivid and impressive style of preaching. In 1829, he married Anne, eldest daughter of the late Sir Samuel Hayes, Bart.

Dr. Traill succeeded to the parish of Schull, county of Cork, in the year 1830, where his last years were spent in a course of unwearied endeavours to promote the temporal comfort and the spiritual good of his people. The parish of Schull, situated at the extreme southwest point of Ireland, is extensive and populous, and it is one of those districts which have become too well known as the scene

of the most appalling sufferings. Dr. Traill had found the population in a state of deplorable destitution when first he became incumbent of the parish; nor had either his incessant efforts to cherish better habits among the lower classes, nor the munificent use he made of his private fortune, availed to bring them into a condition in which they might, in a less disastrous manner, have met the awful visitations of those years of famine. From the very first, and with a clear-sighted dismay, he had looked forward to what he knew must be the consequences of the approaching calamity; and while many continued to think that the worst evils would be evaded, his letters attest that he did not allow himself to entertain any such delusive expectation;—"death by famine, and then by pestilence, will sweep this country of a third of its people;"—such were his forebodings—and to how awful an extent have they been realized! Well he knew that the habitual and extreme destitution of hundreds around him could have but one issue, if it should be aggravated only a little by scarcity.

Dr. Traill's own means, together with funds that were liberally placed at his disposal by benevolent persons—"known and unknown," throughout Ireland, and by many in England, enabled him, during the months of that terrible winter, to keep alive hundreds who otherwise must at an early time have perished. The cares, the sorrows, and the toil, consequent upon these offices of charity, affecting himself and the several members of his family, were excessive; and in his hurried notes to his friends he speaks of himself as worn out with grief and labour. At length, and especially after the time when the more arduous duty of administering spiritual aid to those who were dying of pestilence, took the place of the comparatively easy task of feeding the hungry, the strain upon his mind and feelings became greater than even so energetic a frame could support. The minister of Christ, in passing from house to house—from hovel to hovel—attempted and endured more than human nature can sustain. A severe attack of dysentery was followed by fever; and after lingering awhile—often seeming to rally, and always in the calm possession of his faculties—he expired, in the confident assurance of that bright immortality which is warranted by the evangelic doctrine he had long professed and proclaimed.

Dr. Traill's religious tastes, as well as his fondness for his Greek studies, had early directed his attention to the writings of Josephus; and it was soon after his entrance upon his duties as Rector of Schull, that he first indulged the ambition of attempting to render accessible to English readers the pages of a writer so pre-eminently important. He had felt—as every reader of it must feel—that, in Whiston's version—cumbrous, abrupt, and repulsive as it is, the writings of the Jewish Historian are scarcely accessible. It is probable indeed that he did not at the first distinctly measure the greatness of the task he had entered upon; nor perhaps did he duly estimate the difficulties which he soon found must attach to it. A gradually acquired perception, however, of the vastness of his enterprise, animated his courage, rather than depressed it; and when, in conversation with literary friends, he discerned more clearly than at first, how much would be required of him, as the Translator of Josephus, the enhanced anxiety he felt did but stimulate his energies to meet the occasion. His was a mind not easily turned from its purpose, and always undismayed by the prospect of toil. At the same time the sense he entertained of the high value of these writings, as related to sacred history, carried him forward with an impulse which—to a mind like his—no motives but such as took their rise in religious feeling could give.

The union, in Dr. Traill's character, of a self-determining energy, with a genuine candour, and a ready deference to the opinion of others, whose judgment he respected, was very remarkable; and this modesty led him to submit his labours, in the most unreserved manner, to the criticism of his friends, and of any whom he thought qualified to aid him by their remarks. It was in consequence of several such appeals to the opinion of others, that he recast his version, again and again, and brought it, with the most laborious care, nearer, and still nearer to the original; while he kept in view always its fluency in style, as English—adapted to the tastes of the mass of readers.

It has already been announced, by advertisement, that Dr. Traill had long ago completed the translation of the Jewish War, as well as the Life of Josephus, and the two Books against Apion, and that he

had made considerable progress also in translating the Antiquities. It has moreover been stated that the manuscript had been confided, for revision, to the care of a learned and experienced friend—a member of Trinity College, Dublin—whose valuable services had previously been engaged for correcting the sheets, as they passed through the press.

So much progress having been made at the time of Dr. Traill's death, in effecting what was necessary for completing the work, it had not been supposed that this sad event would long have retarded the regular appearance of the PARTS, completing the Jewish War. Those however who know what is involved in the carrying forward an extensive literary work—and especially if it be copiously illustrated with engravings, will find it easy to believe that difficulties, not soon to be surmounted, might present themselves, and render impracticable what was so much desired by those who stood responsible to the public for the completion of the Work.

These difficulties have however at length given way; and at this moment nothing forbids the Editor to announce the following Parts as regularly forthcoming—monthly.

This interval of time has not been lost: on the contrary, much has been done during its continuance to render the Work deserving of the favour which it courts. The death of the Translator has indeed unavoidably led to a modification of the plan of the Work; for although he had made much progress in preparing the Antiquities, and the two Books against Apion, for the press, the state of the manuscript was not such as would have warranted an announcement of the “entire Works of Josephus” as forthcoming. A fulfilment of this first intention of the deceased Translator, would involve far more than an Editor ought to pledge himself to undertake. Meantime it has seemed to him that the mode in which he could best set himself right in the opinion of the purchasers of the FIRST VOLUME was, to concentrate his endeavours upon the task of rendering the Jewish War complete in itself, and as acceptable as possible.

In the first place, and as being of primary importance, the whole

of the Translation, now in course of publication, has undergone a renewed and laborious revision; for effecting which the Editor has been fortunate in engaging the aid of gentlemen fully competent to the task. The Translation, so far as comprised in the First Volume, had, as we have said, been revised by Dr. Traill's personal friends, and finally by a learned member of Trinity College, Dublin, who read and corrected the sheets as they passed through the press.

The earlier portion of the Text now given to the public, has been carefully examined by a gentleman well known in the learned world—Rev. W. Trollope, but who, in leaving England, was compelled to relinquish the task he had undertaken. This labour has, however, been continued by an accomplished member of the University of Cambridge, who, besides collating the Translation with the Greek Text, has charged himself with the task of reading the sheets as they pass through the press. In this department, therefore, the Editor is warranted in believing that the three years during which the publication of the Work has been suspended, will so have been employed as very greatly to enhance its value, as a faithful and learnedly exact version of the Greek.

During this same interval, moreover, the Editor has kept in view what was to devolve upon himself in adapting the Work to the wishes of the general reader, who, while requiring a trustworthy version of the original, would ask some incidental aid in the perusal of this remarkable history.

Moreover, time has been afforded for completing the graphic Illustrations of the Work, and for adding to the number at first intended to accompany the Jewish War. In this respect the purchasers of the First Volume will not find themselves sparingly dealt with in the Second.

The Seven Books of the JEWISH WAR, while they constitute a history which is complete in itself, so are they by far the most important, the most authentic, and the most entertaining of the writings of Josephus. It is the "Jewish War" almost exclusively, that can engage the attention of any reader who has not some special

purpose of erudition in view when he takes “Josephus” from his shelves. It is this history of the overthrow and of the scattering of the Jewish polity, worship, and nation, which renders Josephus a witness whose evidence (when duly sifted) is of inestimable importance. In a word, it is the History of the Jewish War, as narrated by Josephus, which, more than any other ancient book—not included in the canon of Scripture—connects the long past with the present, and both with the future.

I. T.

STANFORD RIVERS, 1850..

THE JEWISH WAR.

BOOK III.

ARGUMENT OF THE THIRD BOOK.

1. Vespasian is sent by Nero against the Jews.—2. A great slaughter of the Jews near Ascalon.—3. Description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa. — 4. Titus, with a large army, arrives at Ptolemais.—5. An account of the Roman armies.—6. Vespasian invades Galilee, and 7. takes Jotapata.—8. What Josephus said when brought before Vespasian, and in what manner he was treated by Vespasian.—9. The taking of Joppa, and surrender of Tiberias.—10. The capture of Tarichæa.

B O O K III.

CHAPTER I.

1. WHEN Nero was informed of the disasters in Judæa, though seized with consternation and alarm—suppressed however as was natural, he assumed, in public, a haughty and indignant air. Attributing what had occurred rather to the negligence of his general, than to the valour of the foe, he deemed it becoming in one who sustained the weight of the empire to treat misfortunes with stately contempt, and show himself possessed of a mind superior to every reverse. His mental perturbation, notwithstanding, was betrayed by his thoughtfulness.

2. Deliberating to whom he should confide the east, which was already in commotion, and whose task it should be at once to chastise the Jewish insurgents, and to impose a timely check on the surrounding nations, who were catching the contagion, Vespasian alone could he find adequate to the emergency, or able to support the burden of so vast an enterprise ;—a man who from youth to age had spent his life in military service ; who for the Romans had formerly pacified the west, when disturbed by the Germans ; and to whose arms they owed the acquisition of Britain, hitherto unknown. This last was a conquest, on account of which his father Claudius, without any toil on his own part, had obtained a triumph.

3. Auguring favourably, therefore, from these facts, and seeing his years steadied by experience, and that, together with his own approved fidelity, his sons were a pledge, and their vigour a hand, for the execution of their father's sagacious counsels—God also, perhaps, providentially directing the whole—Nero sent him to assume the command of the armies in Syria, paying him, in consequence of the urgency of the occasion, many soothing and flattering compliments, such as necessities of the kind demand. Immediately on his appointment, Vespasian, who had been staying with Nero in Achaia, despatched from thence his son Titus to Alexandria, to bring up the fifth and tenth legions ; while he himself, crossing the Hellespont, proceeded by land to Syria, and there concentrated the Roman forces, and a large body of auxiliaries from the neighbouring princes.

CHAPTER II.

1. AFTER the defeat of Cestius, the Jews, elated with their unexpected success, were unable to restrain their ardour; and, fanned as it were by fortune, pushed hostilities still further. Accordingly, collecting without delay their most effective troops, they advanced upon Ascalon. This is an ancient city, five hundred and twenty furlongs from Jerusalem, and ever regarded with hatred by the Jews; and it seemed, therefore, a proper object for their primary attack. The expedition was led by three men, distinguished alike for vigour and intelligence—Niger the Peræite, Silas the Babylonian, and John the Essæan. Ascalon, though strongly fortified, was almost destitute of defence—a cohort of infantry, and one squadron of cavalry, under the orders of Antonius, constituting the garrison.

2. Impelled by rage, the Jews advanced with unusual celerity, and, as if hurrying from some neighbouring spot, were forthwith at their destination. Antonius, who was not unapprised of their intended attack, had previously drawn out his horse, and—daunted neither by the numbers, nor by the boldness, of his assailants—received their first onset with firmness, and repulsed them as they were pushing forward to the fortifications. They, unskilled in war, were engaged against the skilful: infantry against cavalry: the disarrayed against serried ranks: men armed as chance enabled, against soldiers completely equipped; and thus led on by passion, rather than reflection, and opposed to disciplined troops, who acted on the instant at a signal from their commander, they afforded an easy victory. For, once that their front ranks were thrown into confusion, they were repelled by the cavalry; and, falling upon those in their rear, who were pressing on to the wall, they became each other's antagonists; until all, giving way before the charges of the horse, were scattered over the entire plain. This was wide, and thoroughly adapted to the movements of cavalry:—a circumstance, which, favourable to the Romans, occasioned terrible havoc among the Jews. Such as fled they intercepted, and drove back; and, cutting through the masses congregated by the flight, they slew them in crowds. Others surrounding the fugitives, wherever they turned, and continuing to ride round them, found them an easy mark for their javelins. In their perplexity their very multitude seemed solitude

to the Jews ; while the Romans, owing to their success, though few in respect of the battle, deemed their numbers more than sufficient. And as the former, ashamed of sudden flight, and in hope of an auspicious change, struggled long against their disasters ; so were the latter insensible of fatigue while fortune smiled. And thus the contest was protracted until evening, when ten thousand Jews lay dead upon the field : and among them two of their generals, John and Silas. The remainder, for the most part wounded, took refuge with Niger, their surviving commander, in a little town of Idumæa, called Sallis. In this engagement some few of the Romans, also, were wounded.

3. Unbroken in spirit, however, by so dire a calamity, and rather roused to daring by their discomfiture ; regardless too of their comrades, lifeless at their feet, the Jews were lured by former triumphs to a second overthrow. Accordingly, without so much as allowing their wounds time to heal, they collected the whole of their force, and, with augmented rage, and in much greater numbers, returned to the assault of Ascalon. But with the same inexperience, and other disadvantages for war, the same fortune as before attended them. Antonius having placed ambushes in the passes, they fell unwittingly into his toils, and being surrounded by the cavalry before they could form for battle, they were again defeated, and upwards of eight thousand slain. The remnant fled, and with them Niger, who performed many feats of valour in the retreat ; and being closely pressed by the enemy, they were driven into a strong tower of a village called Bezedel.

Antonius and his party, that they might neither lose their time before a place difficult of capture, nor permit the general, and he the bravest of their foes, to escape with life, set fire to the fort : and while it was in flames, the Romans withdrew exulting, as if Niger had met his fate. He, however, having leaped down from the tower, saved himself in the most secret cavern of the fortress : and three days after, when his friends with loud laments were searching for his body in order to its interment, he spoke to them from below ; and, coming forth, filled the hearts of the Jews with unhopèd-for joy, as if preserved by the providence of God to lead them to future conflicts.

4. Vespasian, meanwhile, breaking up with his troops from Antioch—the capital of Syria, and which, without dispute, both from its extent, and other advantages, ranks as the third city of the Roman world, and where he had found king Agrippa with his whole force awaiting his arrival, made a rapid march to Ptolemais.

In this city he was met by the inhabitants of Sepphoris in Galilee, such at least as were disposed for peace. Mindful of their own safety, and the strength of the Romans, they had, prior to the coming of Vespasian, pledged their fidelity to Cestius Gallus, and, under assurance of protection, admitted a garrison. Having on this occasion cordially welcomed the general, and cheerfully promised their assistance in his contest with their countrymen, he, at their request, at once assigned them a guard of as many horse and foot as he deemed sufficient for repelling the incursions of the Jews, in the event of any movement on their part. For it appeared to him that the loss of Sepphoris would be attended with no small danger in the approaching struggle, as it was the largest city of Galilee, built in a situation of peculiar strength, and calculated to be a bulwark to the entire province.

CHAPTER III.

There are two Galilees, designated the Upper and the Lower, which are environed by Phœnicia and Syria. They are bounded on the west by the confines of the territory of Ptolemais, and by Carmel, a mountain belonging formerly to the Galilæans, but at present to the Tyrians: near to which is Gaba, “the city of horsemen,” so called from its being a settlement for the horsemen dispatched by king Herod. On the south, Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the stream of the Jordan, form their limits: towards the east, Hippene and Gadara, Gaulanitis, and the frontiers of Agrippa’s kingdom: while Tyre and its dependencies constitute their northern boundary. Lower Galilee extends in length from Tiberias to Zabulon, adjacent to which, on the sea coast, is Ptolemais. In breadth it stretches from a village called Naloth, lying in the Great Plain, to Heraclea, commencing from which is measured also the breadth of Upper Galilee, as far as the village of Baca, which bounds the land of the Tyrians. In length, it runs from Thella, a village in the vicinity of the Jordan, to Meroth.

The two Galilees, so considerable in extent, and encircled by many other nations, have uniformly resisted every hostile attempt. For the Galileans, trained to war from their infancy, and in every point of view were always as little deficient in courage, as in the number of their population; inasmuch as it was, throughout, thick in soil and pasturage, producing every variety of tree, and



SCYTHOPOLIS.

inviting by its productiveness even those who have the least inclination for agriculture. It is all, accordingly, cultivated by the inhabitants, no part of it lying idle. The towns, also, are numerous, and the multitude of villages so crowded with men, owing to the fecundity of the soil, that the smallest of them contains above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

3. In fine, even though it be granted that Galilee is inferior to Peræa in extent, it must still be thought preferable in point of resources; for it is tilled throughout, and every where productive: whereas Peræa, much larger indeed, is generally desert and rugged, and too wild for the growth of delicate fruits. In some parts, however, the soil is loamy and prolific, and trees of various kinds cover the plains; but the olive-tree, the vine, and the palm-tree, are those principally cultivated. It is also sufficiently irrigated by mountain-streams; and—should these in the dog-days fail—by ever-flowing springs. In length, it extends from Machærus to Pella: in breadth, from Philadelphia to the Jordan: its northern districts being bounded, as we have already said, by Pella; and those on the west, by the river. The land of Moab forms its southern limit; while Arabia and Silbonitis, with Philadelphia and Gerasa, constitute its eastern boundary.

4. The district of Samaria lies between Judæa and Galilee. Commencing at a village by name Ginæa, situate in the Great Plain, it terminates at the territory of the Acrabatenes. In its natural characteristics it differs in no respect from Judæa; hills and plains being interspersed through both: the soil, moreover, being arable, and extremely fertile, richly wooded, and amply supplied with fruits, both wild and cultivated. Though by no means copiously irrigated by nature, both are refreshed by frequent rains. The running water is every where extremely sweet; and owing to an abundance of good pasture, the cattle yield more milk than those in other districts. And what affords the most unerring criterion of excellence and fertility—both districts teem with men.

5. On the confines of these, and terminating Judæa towards the north, lies the village of Anuath Borceos. The southern portions of Judæa, if it be measured lengthways, end at a village adjoining the frontiers of Arabia, to which the Jews, who reside there, give the name of Jardan. In breadth it reaches from the river Jordan to Joppa. In its very centre lies the city of Jerusalem; for which reason some, not inaptly, have styled that city “the navel” of the country. Nor is Judæa, withal, destitute of such amenities as the sea affords; its maritime districts extending as far as Ptolemais. It

is divided into eleven allotments, whereof Jerusalem, as the seat of royalty, is supreme, exalted over all the adjacent region, as the head over the body. The residue, subordinate in rank, are distributed into districts. Gophna is second; next Acrabatta; then, severally, in order, Thamna, and Lydda, and Ammaus, and Pella, and Idumæa, and Engaddi, and Herodium, and Jericho. After these, Jamnia and Joppa, preside over the parts around; and beyond these are the territories of Gamalitis and Gaulanitis, Batanæa, and Trachonitis, which also form portions of Agrippa's dominions. Beginning at Mount Lebanon, and the fountains of the Jordan, this latter district extends in breadth to the Lake of Tiberias, and in length from a village, called Arpha, as far as Julias. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians. Thus have we, with all possible brevity, described Judæa, and the country circumjacent.

CHAPTER IV.

1. A DETACHMENT of a thousand horse, and six thousand foot, under the command of Placidus the tribune, formed the force sent by Vespasian to the relief of Sepphoris. The troops, after encamping on the Great Plain, were divided—the infantry being quartered in the town for its protection, the cavalry continuing in their intrenchments. This force, making frequent excursions from both points, overran the surrounding country, and caused great annoyance to the army of Josephus, which remained quiescent, by ravaging the districts outside the walls of the several towns, and driving back all who ventured out.

Josephus, however, assaulted the city, hoping to reduce the place; which, previous to his secession from the Galilæans, he had fortified so strongly, that its capture would have been a difficult achievement even to the Romans. He was in consequence frustrated in his expectations; having found himself unable either to compel, or persuade, the Sepphorites to surrender. Thus he provoked more active hostilities against the country, and neither day nor night did the Romans, in resentment at this attempt, cease to lay waste their plains, carrying off the property in the district, killing invariably all capable of bearing arms, and enslaving the more feeble. Hence was Galilee filled from end to end with fire and carnage, nor was it granted

immunity from any species of suffering or calamity : for there was but one refuge for the distressed—the cities fortified by Josephus.

2. Now Titus, having passed over from Achaia to Alexandria more quickly than was usual in the winter season, took command of the force for which he had been sent, and proceeding by forced marches, soon arrived at Ptolemais. Here meeting his father—to the two legions under his orders, the highly distinguished fifth and tenth, he united that brought by himself—the fifteenth. These were followed by eighteen cohorts. There came five, also, with one squadron of cavalry, from Cæsarea, and five other squadrons from Syria. Of the cohorts, ten had each a thousand infantry : the remaining thirteen, six hundred foot, and a hundred and twenty horse. A considerable number of auxiliaries, likewise, had been assembled, furnished by the kings, Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus, who severally contributed two thousand foot-archers, and a thousand horse. Malchus, the Arabian, sent a thousand cavalry, and five thousand infantry, most of whom were bowmen : so that the entire army, horse and foot, including the royal contingents, amounted to nearly sixty thousand men, exclusive of servants, who were extremely numerous, but, on account of their military training, ought not to be reckoned apart from the available force ; constantly engaged, as they were, in their masters' exercises during peace, and sharing danger with them in war ; so that neither in skill, nor prowess, were they second to any but them.

CHAPTER V.

1. HERE one cannot but admire the foresight of the Romans in providing themselves with servants, useful not only in the ordinary offices of life, but also in war. And indeed, if we look into the other branches of their military discipline, we shall have proof, that they have acquired an empire so extensive by military conduct, not received it as the gift of fortune. For it is not actual war which gives them the first lesson in arms ; nor at the call of necessity alone do they move their hands, having ceased to use them in time of peace : but, as if they had grown with their weapons, they have no truce with-exercises, no waiting for occasions. These trainings differ in nothing from the veritable efforts of combat ; every soldier being kept in daily practice, and acting with the energy of those really engaged in war. Hence the perfect ease with which they sustain the conflict. For

no confusion displaces them from their accustomed order : no panic disturbs ; no labour exhausts. It follows, therefore, as a certain result, that they invariably conquer those not similarly trained : nor would he err, who should style their exercises bloodless conflicts, and their conflicts bloody exercises. Neither can they fall an easy prey to the sudden attack of an enemy ; for at whatever point they may invade a hostile territory, they never engage in battle until they have fortified their camp. This they construct not at random, or irregularly ; nor do all, or without order, take a share in the work : but should the surface be unequal, it is levelled, and the camp is squared by admeasurement ; and then a body of artificers follows, with tools for building.

2. The interior of the camp they set apart for tents. In its exterior the circuit presents the aspect of a wall, furnished with towers at equal distances ; in the intervals between which are disposed scorpions, catapults, stone-projectors, and every propelling engine, all ready to hurl missiles.

Four gates are constructed, one in each side of the surrounding wall, with level approaches, for the easy admission of beasts of burden, and wide enough for a sally in case of emergency. The camp, inside, is conveniently distributed into streets. In the middle are the tents of the officers, and in the centre of these that of the commander-in-chief, closely resembling a temple. Thus, as it were on a sudden, a city appears to spring up, with its market-place, and a quarter for handicraft trades, and seats, also, for the centurions and divisional commanders, where they adjudicate whensoever differences occur. The outer wall is raised, and all within completed quicker than thought, owing to the number and skill of the workmen ; and if occasion demand, a trench is drawn round outside, in depth four cubits, and the same in breadth.

3. Thus protected, they lodge in tents by companies, with quietness and decorum. All their other business also is transacted with order and precision. The duty of procuring wood, corn, and water, as required, is imposed on the several companies in turn ; nor is it optional with each when he shall sup or dine ; but all take their meals together. Their times for sleeping, keeping watch, and rising, are notified by trumpet : nor is any thing done without command.

At the first dawn the soldiery wait, severally, on their respective centurions ; and these on the tribunes, to salute them ; with whom all the superior officers visit the commander-in-chief, who gives them, according to custom, the watchword, and other orders, to carry to their subordinates. This also they do in action, conveying themselves

with promptitude, wherever required, and moving with unbroken ranks, whether in the charge or retreat.

4. When they are to break up from their encampment, the trumpet gives the signal, and all are on the alert. At the signal given they strike their tents, and everything is got ready for their departure. The trumpets again sound for packing their equipments, on which they put their baggage with all haste upon the mules and other beasts of burden, and stand ready to spring forward, as if from a starting-post. They then set fire to their camp, as well because they could with ease again construct it there, as lest it should at any time prove useful to the enemy. A third time the trumpets, in like manner, give the signal for departure, hastening those who from any cause may be delaying, so that none be absent from the ranks. The herald, standing on the right of the commander, then thrice demands, in their native tongue, whether they are ready for war; to which they as often answer, with loud and animated voice, "Ready," almost anticipating the question; and, inspired with a kind of martial enthusiasm, they lift up their right hand simultaneously with the shout.

5. Then going forth, they proceed all silently and with order, each keeping his own place in the array, as in battle. The infantry are protected by breast-plates and helmets, and wear a sword on either side; that on the left is much the longer, the other, on the right, not exceeding a span. The picked body of infantry, which attend the general, bear a lance and shield; the remainder of the phalanx a javelin and oblong buckler, a saw and a basket, a mattock and a hatchet, a strap of leather, an edged hook, and a chain, with provisions for three days; so that the foot-soldier differs but little from the baggage mules.

The cavalry have a long sword on the right side, a long lance in hand, and a shield, lying obliquely on the horse's flank. In a quiver are carried three or more darts, with broad heads, not inferior in size to spears. They all wear helmets, moreover, and breastplates, like the infantry. Those chosen to attend the general differ not in a single weapon from the regular cavalry. The legion selected by lot uniformly leads.

6. Thus the Romans march and repose, and such are their several kinds of arms. In battle nothing is done unadvisedly, or precipitately; but consideration invariably precedes every operation, and actions follow the decision. Hence they very rarely err; and if they stumble, the mistake is easily rectified.

They deem, moreover, that mischances resulting from previous consultation are preferable to success, arising merely from the chance of

fortune; inasmuch as fortuitous advantage seduces into negligence: whereas, should aught untoward befall, deliberation suggests a useful caution against its recurrence. Besides, accidental successes are not to be ascribed to him who obtains them; while if, contrary to expectation, disasters happen, it is a consolation that the subject had been duly considered.

7. By their exercises in arms they invigorate not their bodies alone, but their minds. Fear, also, is an element in their training. For their regulations not only punish capitally the desertion of a post, but even a slight remissness in duty. And their officers are still more revered than their laws; inasmuch as, by rewards to the deserving, they outweigh the imputation of cruelty towards those who are punished.

Their prompt obedience to their officers is such, that, while it is ornamental in peace, in the field it moves, as one body, the whole army: so simple is the construction of their ranks: so easily performed are their evolutions: so quick their ears to orders, their eyes to signs, and their hands to deeds. Hence they are uniformly swift to execute orders, and very slow to sink under suffering: nor is it on record that they have ever been daunted, while in array, whether by numbers, stratagem, difficulty of position, or yet by fortune; for they always rely more firmly upon endurance than upon fortune.

Where counsel, therefore, precedes action, and so efficient an army seconds deliberation, what wonder, if, on the east—the Euphrates, on the west—the ocean, on the south—the most fertile region of Libya, and on the north—the Danube and the Rhine, be the limits of the empire? For it may, with propriety, be said, that the possessions are inferior to those who have acquired them.

8. These particulars I have detailed, not so much with the view of extolling the Romans, as to console those whom they have vanquished, and to deter the disaffected. And it may happen that those of my polite readers, who are unacquainted with the subject, may derive information from this account of the Roman military discipline. I now return whence I have digressed.

CHAPTER VI.

1. VESPASIAN, with his son Titus, was detained some time in Ptolemais, organizing his forces. Placidus, while over-running

Galilee, put to the sword vast numbers of his captives, the feeble and dispirited portion of the population; but remarking that the fighting men invariably fled to the cities fortified by Josephus, he advanced against the strongest of them—Jotapata; expecting, by a sudden assault, to carry it with little difficulty, and thus acquire for himself a high reputation with those generals, while he would at the same moment be furthering their future operations. For he did not doubt but that the other towns—were this, the strongest of them all, reduced—would be led, through fear, to surrender.

In this hope, however, he was much deceived. For the people of Jotapata, aware of his approach, lay in wait for him in front of the town; and being in large force, prepared for battle, and eager to engage, as for their endangered city, wives, and children, they fell unexpectedly upon the Romans, and quickly routed them. Many of the Romans were wounded, but seven only were killed, owing to the unbroken order of their retreat, and the superficial nature of their wounds; since their bodies were in every part protected, and the Jews threw their missiles from a distance, rather than venture into close combat—the one party being ill defended, the other fully accounted. Of the Jews three fell, and a few were wounded. Placidus, finding himself too weak for an attempt on the town, retreated.

2. Vespasian himself, however, intent on the invasion of Galilee, withdrew from Ptolemais, disposing his army for the march according to the Roman usage. The light-armed auxiliaries, and the archers, he ordered in advance, to repel any sudden onset of the enemy, and to explore those woods, which were suspected, and suited for ambuscade. Next came the heavy-armed division of the Romans, foot and horse. Following these were ten men, drafted from every hundred, carrying their baggage, and the camp-measures: and in their rear the pioneers, to remove the irregularities of the road, level what was rugged, and cut down the obstructing woods, lest the troops should be harassed by obstacles on the route. Behind these he arranged his own baggage, with that of the officers under his command; and protected it by a considerable corps of cavalry. He then appeared himself, attended by a select body of infantry and cavalry, and by the spearmen. Next advanced the cavalry belonging to the legion; for to each legion were attached a hundred and twenty horse. These were followed by the mules, carrying the besieging engines, and the other machines: and these again by the general officers, and the prefects of the cohorts, with the tribunes, accompanied by a chosen body of troops.

Next were seen the ensigns surrounding the eagle, which is at the

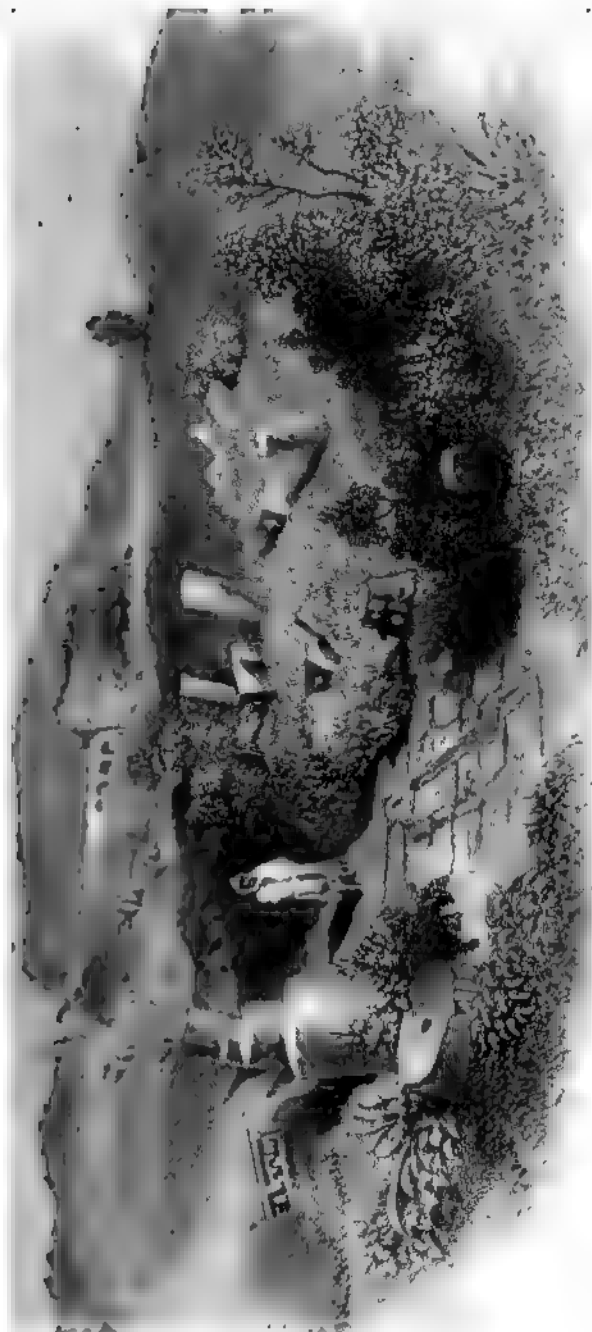
head of every Roman legion—the eagle, at once the king of all birds, and the bravest; hence it seems to them the symbol of empire, and an omen of conquest over whomsoever they may attack. These sacred emblems preceded the trumpeters, after whom came up the phalanx formed in rank, six abreast, attended by a centurion, who, according to custom, superintended the order of march. The infantry were succeeded by the whole of the servants of the respective legions, conducting the mules and other beasts of burden, which carried the soldiers' baggage. After the legions came the crowd of sutlers, followed, for security, by a rearguard composed of light and heavy armed infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry.

3. Proceeding with his army in this order, Vespasian reached the frontiers of Galilee. Here he encamped; and curbing the troops, who were eager for action, made a display of his force with a view to strike terror into the enemy, and, ere the sword was drawn, give them time for repentance. He withal prepared for the siege of the strongholds. And, in truth, the appearance of the general awakened regret for their revolt in many, and alarm in all. Accordingly, those who were encamped with Josephus at a town called Garis, not far from Sepphoris, on learning that the war was approaching, and the Romans on the point of attacking them, dispersed in flight, not only before a blow was struck, but ere they had even seen their foes.

Josephus was left alone with a handful of men, and having perceived that his force was by no means sufficient to await the onset of his opponents—that the spirits of the Jews were sunk—and that the greater part would gladly, if they thought they could place confidence in them, enter into terms,—had already entertained fears for the issue of the contest, and now deemed it prudent to remove as far as possible from danger. Accordingly, with those who still adhered to him, he fled to Tiberias.

CHAPTER VII.

1. VESPASIAN having arrived before the city of Gadara, carried it on the first assault, having come upon it when it was destitute of an effective force. On entering the town, he put to death without distinction all from youth upward: the Romans showing compassion to none of adult age, as well from hatred to the nation, as in recollection of the outrages committed against Cestius. The city itself he reduced



GADARA

Fig. 1

to ashes, all the hamlets and small towns around sharing its fate. Some of these had been totally deserted: the inhabitants of the others he enslaved.

2. The arrival of Josephus in the city which he had selected for safety, filled it with alarm; for the Tiberians felt assured, that, had he not utterly despaired of the contest, he would not have fled. Nor, in this respect, did they mistake his views. For he saw the downward tendency of Jewish affairs, and knew that but one means of preservation remained—a total change of purpose. Yet, though personally he expected pardon from the Romans, he would, notwithstanding, have suffered a thousand deaths, rather than betray his country, and, by dishonouring the command entrusted to him, live in prosperity among those against whom he had been commissioned to take the field. He determined therefore to write to the party in power at Jerusalem an accurate statement of the posture of affairs, so as that he might neither, by exaggerating the strength of the enemy, be in the sequel upbraided with timidity, nor, by underrating it, inspire them with confidence, when perhaps inclined to repent: in order that, should they choose to enter into terms, they might return him an answer to that effect without delay; or, resolving on hostilities, send him a force able to cope with the Romans. Having written to this effect, he immediately forwarded his letter by a courier to Jerusalem.

3. Vespasian having heard that a large body of the enemy had fled to Jotapata, and that it was, moreover, their strongest sally-port, impatient to reduce it, despatched both horse and foot to level the road, which, being mountainous and rocky, was difficult even for infantry, but impracticable for cavalry. In four days the work was completed, and a spacious high-way opened for the troops. On the fifth, which was the twenty-first of the month Artemisius, Josephus withdrew from Tiberias, and, making his way to Jotapata, revived the drooping spirits of the Jews. The welcome tidings of this change of position were communicated to Vespasian by a deserter, who urged him to attack the town, as its capture would seal the fate of the whole of Judæa, could he with it secure Josephus.

This intelligence Vespasian caught at as in the highest degree auspicious, regarding it as ordered by Providence, that the man, reputed the most sagacious of his opponents, should enter a self-selected prison. He, therefore, immediately detached Placidus with a thousand horse, accompanied by Ebutius the decurion, an officer distinguished alike for gallantry and prudence, with orders to invest the town, lest Josephus should clandestinely effect his escape.

4. The next day Vespasian followed with his whole force; and,

marching until evening, arrived before Jotapata. Leading his army to the north quarter, he encamped on an eminence seven furlongs distant from the town, endeavouring to place himself as fully in view of the enemy as possible, in order to strike them with terror; and with such alarm were the Jews instantly seized, that no one ventured beyond the walls.

The Romans, however, were disinclined to an immediate attack, as they had marched during the entire day; but they encompassed the city with a double file of infantry, forming, exterior to this, a third line of cavalry, thus closing up every egress. This, as it cut off all hope of escape, stimulated the Jews to deeds of intrepid daring; for, in war, nothing is a stronger incentive to valour than necessity.

5. An attack being made next day, the Jews, who remained on the spot, and had encamped before the wall, at first gallantly faced the Romans. But when Vespasian, having brought up against them the archers, the slingers, and the whole host that fought with missiles, gave orders to charge, while he himself, with the infantry, pushed up the acclivity in that quarter where an impression might with little difficulty be made upon the wall, Josephus, alarmed for the town, dashed forward, and with him the whole Jewish force. Falling in a compact body on the Romans, they drove them from the ramparts, and performed many feats of prowess and intrepidity.

But not less than they inflicted, did they suffer in return. For, in the same degree as despair of safety stimulated the Jews, did dread of disgrace urge on the Romans. These were armed by skill and strength: those were led on by wild impetuosity. Having fought through the entire day, the combatants were parted by night. On the side of the Romans many were wounded, and thirteen killed: of the Jews seventeen fell, but the wounded amounted to six hundred.

6. On the day following, the Jews, sallying out, again attacked the Romans, and fought with much greater vigour, having become more confident from the unexpected success of their resistance on the preceding day, yet finding the Romans withal more eager for the combat; for they were inflamed to fury by shame, deeming it defeat not instantly to conquer. Until the fifth day the assaults of the besiegers were unintermitted, while the sallies of the people of Jotapata, and their attacks from the ramparts, were gallantly maintained:—the Jews were undismayed at the strength of their foes; the Romans undeterred by the difficulties they encountered.

7. Jotapata is almost one entire precipice. On the other sides it is surrounded by ravines of such extreme depth, that, in looking down, the sight fails before it can fathom them; while on the north alone it

is accessible, whereon the city is built in a sinuous line, on the slope of the mountain. This side, Josephus, when fortifying the city, had encompassed with a wall, to prevent an enemy from occupying the summit above it. Concealed by the mountains which encircled it, the town, until you came upon it, was totally invisible. Such strength had Jotapata.

8. Vespasian, contending not only with the nature of the place, but with the daring valour of its defenders, resolved to prosecute the siege with vigour; and, having assembled the officers under his command, he held a council touching the attack. It being determined to raise a mound on the accessible quarter of the wall, he sent out his whole army to procure materials; and the surrounding mountains being stripped, and timber with stones in vast quantities collected, some, as a protection from the darts discharged from above, extended hurdles over the works, and beneath them constructed the mounds, little if at all impeded by the missiles from the ramparts; whilst others tore up the neighbouring hillocks, and brought a constant supply of earth; and the troops being divided into three sections, no one was idle. The Jews, meanwhile, cast down on their defences huge rocks from the ramparts, and every species of missile; and though they did not penetrate, the crash was so loud and terrific as to impede the workmen.

9. Vespasian, having disposed in a semicircle the projectile engines—of which there were in all a hundred and sixty—gave orders to aim at the men stationed on the wall. At the same time the catapults vomited forth a whizzing storm of lances; and rocks of a talent weight were thrown by the stone-projectors, with fire and dense showers of arrows, which not only rendered the ramparts inaccessible to the besieged, but as much of the interior, also, as came within their range: for the host of Arabian archers, with all the javelin-throwers and slingers, simultaneously with the machines, poured in their volleys.

The Jews, however, though checked in their defence from the ramparts, were not inactive; but sallying out in parties, as in predatory warfare, they tore down the coverings of the workmen, and wounded them when thus unprotected; and wherever these fell back, they threw down the mound, and set fire to the palisades and hurdles. This continued until Vespasian, perceiving that the intervals between the works were the occasion of this disaster, as the vacant spaces afforded opening for attack, united the defences; and his forces, at the same time, being formed into close line, these irruptions were repressed.

10. The mound being now raised, and brought almost to a level with the battlements, Josephus, thinking it deplorable if he could not

devise counter measures for the preservation of the town, assembled the workmen, and directed them to increase the height of the wall. On their asserting that it would be impossible to build, whilst they were assailed with such showers of missiles, he invented a covering for them of the following description. Having ordered piles to be fixed, on these he stretched the raw hides of oxen, that they might receive the stones from the engines, yielding withal to the stroke; while the other missiles would glance off from them, and the fire be checked by their moisture. These he placed before the builders, who, thus screened, wrought in safety day and night at the wall, until it attained an altitude of twenty cubits. They then erected on it a number of towers, and defended the whole by a strong breast-work. This greatly disheartened the Romans, who already fancied themselves within the town; and they were struck with dismay at the ingenuity of Josephus, and the intrepidity of the besieged.

11. Vespasian was exasperated as well by the subtlety of this stratagem, as by the gallantry of the people of Jotapata. For, inspired with fresh confidence by this bulwark, they sallied out upon the Romans, and maintained, in bands, daily conflicts with them, employing every artifice used by predatory bands, pillaging what came in their way, and destroying the other works with fire. At length Vespasian, restraining his troops from battle, determined to sit down before the city, and starve it into a surrender; concluding that the besieged would either be compelled by want of necessaries to sue for mercy, or, obstinately holding out to the last, be consumed by famine. He further expected to find them more easy to deal with in the conflict, should he, after remitting his attacks, again fall upon them, when wasted by hunger. He therefore directed all the different outlets to be guarded.

12. The besieged, meanwhile, had abundance of corn, and of every other provision, except salt. There was, however, a scarcity of water, as, having no fountain in the city, the inhabitants supplied themselves with rain-water. Now it rains but lightly, if at all, during the summer, and, as they were besieged at that season, they were filled with dismay at the bare apprehension of thirst, and became deeply dejected, as if water had already entirely failed. For Josephus, seeing the city abound with other necessaries, and that there was no want of courage to defend it:—wishing, besides, to protract the siege beyond the expectation of the Romans—distributed water by measure. But to have it thus dealt out they considered more grievous than total want; and the deprivation of liberty to drink freely, only incited their craving: so that their spirits sank as if they

had been already reduced to the last extremity of thirst. Nor had their situation in this respect escaped the Romans. For, from the opposite quarter they observed them over the wall, flocking together to one spot, and there receiving the water by measure; and, directing their javelin-projectors against that place, they slew many.

13. Vespasian, indeed, hoped that the reservoirs would ere long be exhausted, and that they would be compelled to surrender the city. But Josephus, with a view to crush this hope, ordered a number of the people to steep their garments, and hang them out round the battlements, so that the whole wall suddenly streamed. On this, dejection and dismay seized the Romans, who beheld so much water thrown away as in scorn by those whom they supposed not to have where-withal to drink. Their general, accordingly, despairing of reducing the city by want, again had recourse to force of arms. This the Jews ardently desired: for, without hope alike for themselves and the city, they preferred death in battle to famine and drought.

14. Josephus, however, in addition to this stratagem, devised yet another for obtaining supplies. By the bed of a mountain-torrent, which ran along the western side of the ravine, and which, from its ruggedness and difficulty, had been neglected by the guards, he sent messengers, with letters to such of the Jews outside as he wished, and received from them, in return, abundance of every thing that was deficient in the city. These messengers he directed, when coming in, to creep, for the most part, past the sentries, and to cover their backs with sheepskins; in order, that, should they be observed by night, they might present the appearance of dogs; but the guards at length detected the artifice, and secured the outlet.

15. At this period, Josephus, sensible that the city could not long hold out, and that his own safety would be endangered should he remain, concerted measures for flight in conjunction with the leading men. But perceiving his intention, the people poured around him, entreating him not to disregard those whose sole dependence was on him: for there was still a hope of safety for the town, as, should he continue with them, every one would cheerfully maintain the struggle for his sake; and should they be taken, his presence would be a comfort. It became him, therefore, neither to fly from his foes, nor to desert his friends; nor to spring as from a storm-tossed ship, which he had entered in a calm:—for thus he would overwhelm the city, as no one would dare longer to oppose the enemy, should he withdraw, by whose means alone their courage could be called forth.

16. Josephus, dissembling his anxiety for his own safety, replied, that it was for their sakes he retired. For, while they were safe, his

presence could not much avail them; whereas, should they be captured, his ruin would be a needless addition; while, were he disengaged from the siege, he might render them the most essential service outside; since he would with all haste assemble the Galilæans from the district, and, by hostilities in another quarter, draw off the Romans from their walls. He could not see in what his remaining could be useful to them, under present circumstances, except to stimulate the Romans to press the siege, inasmuch as his capture was their chief object; whereas, if informed that he had fled, they would naturally relax their efforts against the town.

Unmoved, however, by these arguments, the multitude only clung to him the more closely. Children, and old men, and women with infants in their arms, fell down in tears before him, and embraced and held his feet, imploring him with bitter lamentations to stay and share their fortune: not from envy of his safety, as it appears to me, but in hope of their own. For they thought that no misfortune could befall them, if Josephus continued with them.

17. Should he accede withal, it would, he thought, be ascribed to their solicitations: while, if he attempted to stir, a prison awaited him. At the same time, compassion for their distress broke down utterly his desire to leave them. He resolved, therefore, to remain; and, converting the common despair of the city into a weapon, "Now is the time," he cried, "to begin the struggle, when hope of safety there is none. It is honourable to exchange life for glory in the performance of some noble enterprise, which will be handed down to the memory of remote generations." Thus saying, he proceeded to action; and sallying out with the most effective, he dispersed the sentries, and, pushing forward to the Roman camp, tore in pieces the skins which sheltered those on the mounds, and threw fire into the works. In like manner, during the next, and following, and for many successive days and nights, he carried on the contest indefatigably.

18. In consequence of the sufferings of the Romans from these sallies—for they were ashamed at being worsted by the Jews, and even when they repulsed them, they were impeded in the pursuit by their heavy armour, while their opponents, effecting their purpose, ere the Romans could retaliate, escaped into the town—Vespasian directed the troops to avoid their attacks, and not to engage with men bent on death. "For nothing," he said, "imparts greater energy than despair; and their vehemence will be extinguished, if deprived of its object, as fire without fuel. It becomes even the Romans to conquer with safety, since they war not from necessity, but for acquisitions." Henceforward he repelled the Jews chiefly by the

Arabian archers, the Syrian slingers, and the stone-throwers. Nor were the many projectile engines at rest. The Jews, suffering severely from these, gave way: but when once inside the play of the far-ranging engines, they pressed furiously on the Romans, and fought, prodigal of life and limb—one party in succession relieving another, when it was exhausted.

19. Vespasian deeming himself—from the time thus consumed, and from the sallies of the enemy—to be besieged in his turn, determined, as the mounds were now approaching the ramparts, to bring up the Ram. This is an immense beam, resembling the mast of a ship. It is armed at the extremity with a dense mass of iron, forged in figure of a ram's head, whence it derives its name. It is suspended with ropes by the middle, like the rod of a balance, from another beam, which is supported on both sides by strong uprights. Drawn back by a number of men, and by their united strength again driven forward, it batters the wall with the projecting iron. And there is no tower so strong, or wall so thick, as, though it may resist its first strokes, to withstand its continued play. To this expedient the Roman general had recourse in his anxiety to carry the city by storm, inasmuch as the activity of the Jews had rendered the blockade a hurtful measure.

The Romans now advancing their catapults, and other engines, in order to reach those on the wall, who were endeavouring to arrest their progress, commenced operations. The archers and slingers, in like manner, drew up nearer; and the Jews, in consequence, daring no longer to show themselves on the ramparts, another body of the Romans brought up the Ram, protected above by a continuous line of hurdles and skins, for security both to themselves and the engine. At the first stroke the wall was shaken, when a fearful shriek was raised by those inside, as if they were already captured.

20. Josephus, seeing the Romans constantly playing upon the same spot, and that the wall was all but a ruin, devised a method of averting for a little the force of the engine. He ordered sacks filled with chaff to be let down before the place on which they observed the ram uniformly impelled, that they might cause the head to swerve, and, yielding to the stroke, neutralize its violence. This occasioned the Romans serious delay; as, wherever they turned the engine, those above attended with their sacks, which they submitted to the strokes; so that the blow being repelled, the wall sustained no injury; until the Romans, having in turn recourse to long poles with edged hooks at the extremities, cut away the sacks.

The Ram having thus regained its efficiency, and the wall, which

had been recently built, already giving way, Josephus and his comrades hastened to defend themselves with fire, as a last resource; and, snatching up whatever combustible matter was at hand, sallied out from three different points, and set fire to the machines, hurdles, and mounds of the besiegers. The Romans, thrown into consternation by this act of daring, made scarcely any effort at resistance, being outstripped in the rescue by the rapidity of the flames; for the materials being dry and inflammable, and intermixed, moreover, with bitumen, pitch, and brimstone, the fire flew through them swifter than thought, and what had cost the besiegers much labour was in one hour consumed.

21. At this crisis a Jew presented himself, who is worthy of mention and remembrance. He was the son of Samæas, and bore the name of Eleazar; Saab in Galilee, being the place of his nativity. Lifting up an enormous stone, he threw it from the wall upon the Ram with such force, as to break off the head of the machine. He then leaped down, and taking it up from the midst of the foe, with the utmost fearlessness conveyed it to the wall: but being a mark, meanwhile, to the whole hostile army, and receiving their strokes in his unprotected body, he was transfixed with five darts. Nothing moved by these, he climbed the battlements, where he stood conspicuous to all in his intrepid deed: then, writhing under his wounds, he fell headlong with the Ram. Two brothers, Netiras and Philip, Galilæans also, from the village of Ruma, distinguished themselves as the bravest next to him. Dashing out on the men of the tenth legion, they attacked them with such impetuous violence, that they broke through their ranks, and put all to flight against whom they directed their efforts.

22. These were succeeded by Josephus and his party, who, snatching up a quantity of ignited matter, set fire to the machines and penthouses, together with the works of the fifth and tenth legions, which had been repulsed; whereupon the other Romans, anticipating their attack, buried the implements, and all combustible materials; and towards evening, having raised the Ram, they again brought it to bear upon that quarter where the wall had been already shaken. On this occasion one of the defenders of the town struck Vespasian with a dart, near the sole of the foot, and wounded him slightly, the distance having exhausted the missile. The incident, however, caused the utmost confusion among the Romans. For those near him being disturbed at the blood, a report spread through the army that Vespasian was wounded. Multitudes, abandoning the siege in consternation and terror, crowded round the general. Foremost of all was Titus, deeply alarmed for his father; so that the soldiery were dis-

tressed alike by their affection for the general, and by the anguish of his son. With perfect ease, however, did the father repress the fears of his son, and the tumult of the army. Rising above his sufferings, he hastened to show himself to all who were alarmed on his account, and thus roused them to more strenuous exertions against the Jews. For each, as an avenger of the general, was eager to lead the way to danger; and, with shouts of mutual encouragement, they rushed on toward the wall.

23. But though numbers were beaten down, one on another, by the catapults and stone-projectors, Josephus and his men still maintained their post upon the battlements, and with fire, and sword, and stones, assailed those who, sheltered by the hurdles, worked the Ram. But they effected little or nothing, and fell without intermission, as they stood in full view of those whom they could not themselves see. For, conspicuous in the glare of their own fire, they formed as certain a mark to the enemy as in the daytime; and as the machines were not discernible in the distance, it was difficult to avoid their discharges. By the force of the scorpions and catapults, channels were opened through the dense files; while the stones, driven whizzing from the machine, carried away the battlements, and broke off the corners of the towers. And there was no body of troops so firm, as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the violence and magnitude of the stones.

Of the power of the engine some idea may be formed from the events of that night. For, one of those who stood near Josephus upon the ramparts, being struck by a stone from it, his head was torn off, and his skull flung to the distance of three furlongs; and during the day a woman, in pregnancy, who had just come out of doors, being struck on the abdomen, the foetus was hurled half a furlong, so great was the force of the ballista.

Terrific, indeed, was the clatter of the machines, and the whiz of the missiles. The dead bodies, too, sounded heavily one on another, as they were thrown down from the ramparts; and dreadful were the screams of the women from within, mingling in unison with the wailings of the dying from without. The whole scene of conflict in front of the city flowed with blood; and the wall became accessible over the heaps of slain. The mountains, echoing around, made the clamour more fearful; and nothing, on that night, was wanting to strike the eye or the ear with terror. Many of those who fought for Jotapata nobly fell: many, also, were wounded: and the morning watch had already arrived, ere the wall, assailed without intermission, at length yielded to the engines. The besieged, however, protecting their persons with their armour, threw up defences

opposite to the breach, before the scaling-planks were applied by the Romans.

24. At daybreak, Vespasian, having allowed his troops a short repose after the fatigues of the night, assembled them for the assault of the town. With the view of dislodging his opponents from the quarter where the breach had been effected, he ordered the bravest of the cavalry to dismount, and stationed them three deep over against the ruins, defended on all sides by their armour, and ready, with couched lances, to mount the breach the moment the planks were laid. In rear of these he marshalled the flower of the infantry. The remainder of the horse he extended opposite to the wall, along the whole mountain tract, to intercept any who might attempt to escape on the fall of the town: while, behind these, he stationed an encircling line of archers, with orders to have their arrows ready for a flight, the slingers in like manner, and those at the engines: others he directed to proceed with ladders, and apply them at the uninjured parts of the wall, that some, in the effort to repel them, might relinquish the defence of the breach, and the rest, overpowered by the storm of missiles, yield a passage to the legions.

25. Josephus, however, penetrating his design, stationed the fatigued and aged on the still remaining portion of the wall, as there they would receive no injury; but at the breach he placed the most athletic, and, in front of all, bodies of six men each, drawn by lot, whose dangers he himself shared, to bear the brunt of the assault. He further enjoined them to stop their ears at the shout of the legions, that they might not be terrified; and to receive the showers of missiles on bended knee, under cover of their shields, and then to fall back for a little, until the archers should have emptied their quivers: but, once the Romans had laid the planks, to dash forward upon them, and by means of their own preparations to meet the enemy, and fight, each, for the city, not as if it were to be saved, but to avenge it as if already fallen. "Place before your eyes," said he, "the aged and children about to be butchered, and your wives slaughtered by your foes in a manner hitherto unheard of; and summoning, in anticipation, the rage you would feel at these coming calamities, let it loose on those who are to inflict them."

26. It was thus that Josephus disposed his two divisions. When the helpless multitude in the town, women and children, beheld it girt with a triple phalanx—for no change, preparatory to the action, had been made in the former position of the troops—and the enemy sword in hand at the breach, the hills above them also glittering with arms, and the arrows of the Arabian archers on the string, they raised

one last shriek of capture, not as if its evils still impended, but as if they had already arrived. Josephus, however, shut up the women in their houses, lest by their pitiable cries they should unman their husbands' energies, and with threats commanded them to be silent. He then took the post allotted him in front of the breach, regardless of those applying the ladders in other quarters, but in that spot anxiously awaiting the storm of missiles.

27. The trumpeters of all the legions now sounded simultaneously, the troops raised a terrific war-cry, and the missiles, poured from all sides in concert, intercepted the light. Those with Josephus, remembering his injunctions, guarded their ears against the shout, and their bodies against the discharges. When the planks were laid, they rushed out along them, before those who applied them had set foot on them. Encountering others, however, who were scaling the walls, they displayed divers feats of strength and gallantry; endeavouring, in these extreme calamities, to prove themselves not inferior to those, who, not similarly endangered, valiantly opposed them: nor could they be torn from the Romans, until one or other had fallen.

But while they were becoming exhausted from unremitted exertions, and had none to relieve them, on the part of the Romans fresh troops succeeded to the fatigued, and when one was beaten down, another instantly supplied his place. Mutually animating each other, side linked to side, and protected overhead by their long shields, they formed an impenetrable band, and with their whole phalanx, as if it were one body, thrusting back the Jews, they were already mounting the ramparts.

28. Josephus in these difficulties taking for his counsellor Necessity, so fertile in invention when stimulated by despair, ordered boiling oil to be poured over those sheltered by the close-locked shields. This being quickly prepared, and in large quantities, for many were employed in the work, they poured it down upon the Romans on all sides, hurling with it, also, their vessels glowing with heat. This soon scattered their ranks; and the Romans, scalded, rolled headlong from the ramparts in excruciating agony. For the oil, insinuating itself readily under their armour, spread over the whole body from head to foot, feeding, not less eagerly than flame, upon their flesh: it being, from its nature, quickly heated, and slow in cooling, owing to its unctuousness. And as they were cased in their helmets and breastplates, there was no extrication from the scalding fluid, and, leaping and writhing in anguish, they fell from the scaling planks. Thus beaten back upon their own party, who

were pressing forward, they became an easy prey to those attacking them in rear.

29. But, amidst these disasters, fortitude forsook not the Romans, nor sagacity the Jews. The former, though they beheld their comrades suffering such torture from the oil poured upon them, rushed impetuously on those who poured it, each upbraiding the man before him, as impeding his exertions. The Jews, however, by a second stratagem, checked their ascent, pouring boiled fenugreek upon the planks, slipping on which the Romans were borne backwards: and those retreating, as those advancing, were alike unable to remain erect. Some were, accordingly, thrown on their backs on the scaling planks by their comrades, and were trodden to death; while many fell down upon the mound, and those who fell were dispatched by the Jews. For, when the Romans were prostrated, the Jews, disengaged from close combat, had leisure for their missiles. In the evening the general drew off the troops, who had suffered severely in the assault; not a few having fallen, and more having been wounded. Of the people of Jotapata six men were killed, and upwards of three hundred carried off wounded. This conflict took place on the twentieth of the month Dæsius.

30. When Vespasian would have consoled his troops under these misfortunes, he found them breathing revenge, and asking for action, rather than needing incitement. He therefore issued orders to raise the mounds higher, and construct three towers, each fifty feet high, covered on all sides with plates of iron, that from their weight they might be firm, and at the same time proof against fire. These he placed upon the mounds, furnishing them with javelin-throwers, and archers, and the lighter kinds of projectile engines; and in addition to these with the most able-bodied of the slingers, who, themselves screened from observation by their elevated post and the breastworks of the towers, discharged their weapons upon those on the ramparts whose position they overlooked.

The Jews, finding they could neither avoid missiles coming from above, nor defend themselves against an enemy unseen, and observing that the height of the towers could with difficulty be attained by a dart thrown with the hand, and that the iron with which they were cased rendered them inaccessible to fire, abandoned the wall, and sallied out against those engaged in the assault of the breach. Thus was the combat maintained by the besieged, many falling from day to day, unable withal to retaliate in an equal degree on their foes; whose approach they could only check at the risk of life.

31. At this period Vespasian dispatched Trajan, the commander of

the tenth legion, with a thousand horse and two thousand foot, against a town in the vicinity of Jotapata, called Japha; which, elated with the unexpected resistance of the people of that place, was in revolt. Trajan imagined that the taking of the city would be a work of difficulty; for, in addition to its natural strength, it was surrounded with a double rampart; but, seeing its inhabitants advancing towards him prepared for action, and giving them battle, after a short struggle he put them to flight. He pursued them so closely, that his troops broke into the first enclosure along with them; and when the fugitives rushed on to the second, their own townsmen, fearing lest the enemy might enter with them, closed the gates against them.

God it was, doubtless, who brought the wretched Galilæans into the power of the Romans, delivering up the great mass of the townspeople, excluded by the hands of their kindred, to the swords of murderous foes. For, while pressing to the gates in crowds, and earnestly calling on the sentinels by name, they were butchered in the midst of their supplications. The first wall the enemy had shut against them, the second their own friends; and thus enclosed, in one dense mass, between the two, they fell, many mutually transfixed by the swords of their comrades, many by their own, and multitudes by those of the Romans, without even the courage to defend themselves. For, besides the terror inspired by their enemies, the treachery of friends broke down their spirits. In fine, they died, cursing, not the Romans, but their own people, until of twelve thousand, for to that number they amounted, not one survived.

Trajan, thinking that the town was emptied of fighting men, or that, should a few be in it, fear would deter them from further attempts, reserved the capture for the general. He accordingly forwarded a message to Vespasian, requesting him to send his son Titus to complete the victory. The Roman general, conjecturing that some work still remained to be done, despatched his son with a force of five hundred horse, and a thousand foot. Advancing rapidly to the city, Titus drew up his army, and, stationing Trajan on the left wing, he took the right himself, and led the assault. The soldiers applying the ladders on all sides to the wall, the Galilæans, after a brief opposition from above, abandoned the ramparts. Titus and his men now dashed forward, and quickly occupied the town; but when he attacked those who rallied within, a sharp engagement ensued; for the able-bodied fell upon the Romans in the streets, while the women assailed them from the houses with whatever missile came in their way: and during six hours the conflict was maintained. The fighting men being at length consumed, the rest were massacred, some

in the open air, some in the houses, young and old promiscuously. Infants excepted, no male was left; and these, with the women, were carried into slavery. Those slain throughout the town, and in the previous action, amounted to fifteen thousand: the prisoners, to two thousand one hundred and thirty. This disaster befel the Galilæans on the twenty-fifth of the month Dæsius.

32. Nor did the Samaritans remain inexperienced in calamities. Having collected on the mountain called Garizim, which they hold sacred, they continued in that position; their assemblage, and the determined spirit evinced, giving menace of war. They had indeed been rendered no wiser by the misfortunes of their neighbours. Though alarmed at the successes of the Romans, they did (not), with reasonable fear, consider their own weakness, but were anxiously looking for an occasion to revolt. Vespasian, therefore, deemed it advisable to anticipate the movement, and at once cut off all attempts on their part. For, although Samaria had throughout been at all times occupied by garrisons, yet did the numbers now congregated, and their array, afford cause for uneasiness. He accordingly dispatched to the spot Cerealius, the prefect of the fifth legion, with six hundred horse, and three thousand foot. Considering it unsafe to ascend the hill, and join battle, the enemy being in great force above, he surrounded the entire base of the mountain with his troops, and kept guard over them during the whole of the day. As it happened—the Samaritans withal being in want of water, intense heat prevailed, for it was the summer season; and as the multitude were unprovided with necessities, several expired that very day from thirst; while many, preferring slavery to such a fate, deserted to the Romans. Cerealius, learning from them that those who held their ground were broken down by their sufferings, ascended the mountain, and having disposed his force so as to encircle the enemy, he invited them to terms, and entreated them to preserve their lives; assuring them of safety, should they lay down their arms. Unable to prevail with them, however, he attacked and massacred them to a man—to the number of eleven thousand six hundred. This occurred on the twenty-seventh of the month Dæsius. With such calamities were the Samaritans visited.

33. The people of Jotapata, meanwhile, holding out, and beyond expectation bearing up under their miseries, on the forty-seventh day the mounds of the Romans over-topped the wall. On the same day an individual deserted to Vespasian, bringing intelligence that those in the town were few and enfeebled; and that, wasted by continued watching and incessant conflicts, they would be unable longer to resist a vigorous assault, and might even be taken by stratagem, if the

attempt were made. For, about the last watch, when they expected some respite from their sufferings, and when the morning slumber usually steals over the weary, the sentinels, he stated, dropped asleep; and he advised that at that hour the town should be attacked.

Vespasian, however, knowing the fidelity of the Jews towards one another, and their contempt of suffering, viewed him with suspicion; especially as, on a former occasion, a man of Jotapata, who was taken prisoner, had withstood every pang of the torture, and without betraying to his enemies, though tried by fire, a single secret of the besieged, was crucified—laughing at death. Probabilities, notwithstanding, attached credit to the traitor, and led to the belief that perhaps he was speaking truth. Vespasian, expecting to sustain no great injury from any artifice, ordered the man into custody, and marshalled his army for the capture of the town.

34. At the hour indicated, they approached the ramparts in silence; and Titus was the first to mount them, with ~~one~~ of the tribunes—Domitius Sabinus, leading on a few of the fifteenth legion. Having slain the sentries, they entered the city without noise, followed by one Sextus Cerealius a tribune, with Placidus, and the troops under their orders. But, though the citadel was taken, and the enemy moving to and fro in the heart of the town, and though day had already broke, the vanquished were still unconscious of the capture; for the greater proportion of them, worn out with fatigue, had sunk into a deep sleep, while a dense fog, which happened at the time to envelope the city, obscured the vision of those who suddenly started up, until the whole Roman army having poured in, they were roused but to feel their miseries, and received in death the first evidence of their capture.

The Romans, in remembrance of what they had suffered during the siege, exercised towards none either forbearance or compassion; but in one general massacre thrust the people headlong from the citadel. And here the difficulties of the place deprived of defence those still able to fight. Pressed together in the streets, and slipping on the declivities, they were overwhelmed by the tide of war which flowed down upon them. This drove to self-destruction many even of Josephus' chosen men. Perceiving that they could slay not even one of the Romans, they anticipated the death that awaited them from hostile hands, and, crowded together in the extreme quarter of the city, fell by their own.

35. Such of the watch, however, as had fled on the first discovery of the capture, ascended one of the northern towers, and for some time defended themselves; but being surrounded by crowds of foes,

they at last ceased their efforts, and cheerfully offered their necks to their assailants. The Romans might have boasted that the siege was bloodless in its termination, had not, after the capture of the town, a solitary individual fallen,—a centurion, by name Antonius. He died by treachery. One of those who had taken refuge in the caverns—and they were many in number—having requested Antonius to extend his right hand to him as a pledge of protection, and to help him to ascend, he unguardedly stretched it out; on which the other, seizing the opportunity, struck him from below in the groin with a spear, and killed him upon the spot.

36. On that day, therefore, the Romans slew all who showed themselves; and in the ensuing days, searched the hiding-places, making havoc of such as had fled to vaults and caverns, and dealing death to those of every age, except infants and women. Of these twelve hundred prisoners were collected. Those who perished at the capture, and in the previous conflicts, were computed at forty thousand. Vespasian then ordered the town to be razed, and reduced all its forts to ashes. Thus fell Jotapata, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the new moon of Panemus.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. THE Romans, in their search for Josephus, stimulated both by their own resentment, and the earnest wish of the commander, as his capture would go far to decide the war, examined the bodies of the slain, and the secret recesses of the city. But, just as the town was taken, he, availing himself of some providential aid, withdrew himself from the midst of the enemy, and leaped into a deep pit, in the side of which was a capacious cavern, invisible to those above. Here he found forty persons of distinction concealed, provided with necessities sufficient to support them for a considerable time.

During the day, therefore, he lay hid, the enemy occupying all the posts, and, at night going up, he scrutinized every outlet of flight, and reconnoitred the sentries; but as every spot was so closely guarded on his account, that escape was impracticable, he again went down into the cavern. For two days he thus eluded pursuit; but, on the third, a woman of their party, being seized, gave information: on which Vespasian with eager haste despatched two tribunes, Pau-

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linus and Gallicanus, with orders to offer Josephus protection, and to exhort him to leave his retreat.

2. Repairing to the spot, they strongly urged their proposal upon him, and pledged themselves for his safety. Their persuasions, however, were ineffectual; for he gathered his suspicions not from the natural mildness of those who addressed him, but from the penalties it was probable that so active a partizan must suffer. He feared, moreover, that they were inviting him solely to punishment, until Vespasian sent a third tribune, Nicanor, known to Josephus, and formerly his associate.

He, on his arrival, enlarged upon the natural lenity of the Romans towards those whom they had once subdued, assuring him that from his valour he was rather an object of admiration than of hatred to the officers; and that the general was anxious to win him over, not for punishment—for this he had it in his power to inflict even should he not come forth—but from a wish to save a brave man. He added, that Vespasian, had he purposed to entrap him, would not have commissioned a friend, that he might clothe with the fairest colours a transaction of the deepest infamy—perfidy with the mask of friendship; nor would he himself have consented to come for the purpose of deceiving a friend.

3. While Josephus was hesitating as to Nicanor's persuasions, the soldiery in their rage rushed forward to throw fire into the cavern; but the tribune, anxious to take the Jewish leader alive, restrained them. While Nicanor was earnestly pressing his point, Josephus heard the threats of the hostile crowd; and his nightly dreams, wherein God had foreshown to him the approaching calamities of the Jews, and what would befall the Roman sovereigns, occurred to him. As an interpreter of dreams he had the art of collecting the meaning of things delivered ambiguously by the Deity; nor was he unacquainted with the prophecies of the sacred books, being himself a priest, and a descendant of priests. Being at that moment under a divine influence, and suddenly recalling the fearful images of his recent dreams, he addressed to God a secret prayer, and said: "Since it seems good to Thee, who didst found the Jewish nation, now to level it with the dust, and transfer all its fortune to the Romans, and since Thou hast chosen my spirit to foretel future events, I surrender willingly to the Romans, and live: appealing to Thee, that I go over to them, not as a traitor, but as Thy minister."

4. Having spoken thus, he was about to deliver himself to Nicanor. But when the Jews, who had there taken refuge along with him, understood that he was yielding to the solicitations of the

Romans, they surrounded him in a body, crying out, "Deeply may our paternal laws groan! And well may God, who planted in the Jewish breast a soul that despises death, hide his face in indignation! Is life so dear to thee, Josephus, that thou canst endure to see the light in slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself! How many hast thou persuaded to die for liberty! False, then, indeed, has been thy reputation for manliness, as well as for intelligence, if thou canst hope for safety from those whom thou hast so strenuously opposed, or consent to accept deliverance at their hands, even were it certain! But, though the fortune of the Romans has poured over thee some strange forgetfulness of thyself, we must take care of our country's glory. We will provide thee with right hand and sword. If thou diest voluntarily, thou shalt die as general of the Jews: but if involuntarily, as a traitor." While they spoke, they offered their swords, and threatened to slay him, if he gave himself up to the Romans.

5. Josephus, fearing an outbreak, and conceiving that it would be a betrayal of God's commands, should he die before he delivered his message, proceeded to reason with them philosophically respecting the emergency: "Why, my comrades, should we so thirst for our own blood? Or why do we set at variance such fond companions as soul and body? Who says that I am changed? But the Romans know whether this is true. It is honourable, I admit, to die in war, but only by the law of war, that is, by the act of the victors. Did I, then, shun the Roman blades, worthy indeed should I be of my own sword, and my own hand. But, if pity for an enemy enter their breasts, how much more justly should pity for ourselves enter ours! For it is the extreme of folly to do that to ourselves, to avoid which we quarrel with others. It is seemly to die for freedom. I admit it—but let it be in fair fight, and by the hands of those who would rob us of it. But now they neither meet us in battle, nor slay us. He is alike a dastard who wishes not to die when he ought, and wishes it when he ought not. What is it, then, from dread of which we decline surrendering to the Romans? Is it not death? And shall we, then, determine to inflict upon ourselves what we fear, when apprehended from enemies? But some one will urge the dread of servitude. We are now, forsooth, perfectly free! Another will say that it is noble to destroy oneself. Far from it—but most ignoble! Just as I would deem that pilot most dastardly who, dreading a tempest, voluntarily sinks his ship ere the storm sets in. But further: suicide is alien to the common nature of all animals, and an impiety against God, who created us. Nor, indeed, is there any living crea-

ture that dies premeditatedly, or by its own act ; for nature's law is strong in all—the wish to live. For this reason also those who attempt overtly to deprive us of life, we account enemies ; and those who attempt it clandestinely, we punish.

“ Do you not think that God is indignant, when man treats his gift with contempt ? From Him we have received our existence ;—and the period when we are no longer to exist, we refer to his will. Our bodies, indeed, are mortal to all, and composed of corruptible materials : but the soul, always immortal, and a portion of the Deity, dwells in those bodies. Now, should any one destroy, or misapply, what is deposited with him by man, he is esteemed wicked and faithless : and should any one cast out from his body what has been there deposited by God, do we suppose that he will elude Him whom he has wronged ?

“ Our laws, moreover, have determined, and justly, that fugitive slaves shall be chastised, even though they should have left worthless masters. And shall we, in fleeing from God, that best of masters, not be deemed impious ? Know you not, then, that they who depart this life according to the law of nature, repaying the loan received from God, when He who gave is pleased to require it, are surrounded with eternal honour ; that their houses and families are secure ; that their souls remain unspotted, and propitious to prayer, obtaining heaven's most holy abode, from whence, in the revolution of ages, they are again dismissed to inhabit pure bodies ? Whilst the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against themselves, a region of darker Hades receives ; and God, their father, visits on the offspring the impiety of their parents. Hence this deed is hateful to God, and is punished by the wisest of lawgivers. Thus it is ordained among us, that those who destroy themselves shall be exposed unburied till sunset, although we think it right to inter even our enemies : while, among other nations, they order the right hand of suicides to be cut off, as having been armed against themselves ; thinking that, as the body was alien from the soul, so too was the hand from the body.

“ It behoves us, therefore, comrades, to entertain just views, and not, to human misfortunes, add impiety towards Him who created us. If we are to be saved, then, let us be saved ; for preservation is not inglorious, received from those who, on so many occasions, have had proof of our valour : if to die, death is honourable from a victorious foe. I shall not pass over to the ranks of our opponents, in order to become a traitor to myself. For I should thus be much more foolish than those who desert to the enemy ; as they do so for

safety, whilst I should do so for destruction—and that, too, of myself. I pray, however, that this may prove a faithless stratagem of the Romans; for if, after an assurance of protection, I perish by their hands, I shall die cheerfully, carrying with me their perfidy and falsehood—a consolation greater than victory.”

6. These, and many similar motives, did Josephus suggest to divert them from suicide. But despair had stopped their ears, for they had long devoted themselves to death; and in a paroxysm of fury, they ran at him from all sides with drawn swords, upbraiding him with cowardice, and manifesting a determination instantly to cut him down. But, addressing one by name—towards another assuming the aspect of command—taking a third by the hand—and softening a fourth by entreaties—though distracted with conflicting passions, he succeeded, in this emergency, in warding off the blades of all, always turning, as a wild beast when hemmed in, to the one that was assailing him. Some there were, also, whose arms were paralysed by reverence for the general in this his extreme distress, and whose swords dropped from their grasp; while many, in the very act of thrusting at him, unconsciously let fall their weapons.

7. But in this perplexity, his usual sagacity did not forsake him; and trusting to his guardian God, he hazarded his safety, and said: “Come, since you are resolved to die, let us commit our mutual slaughter to the lot, and let him, to whom it falls, die by the sword of him who comes next to him; and the same fate will thus pass through all. Nor let each be thrown on his own resolution. For it would be unjust that any one, after the destruction of the others, should repent, and be preserved.”

To a proposal so apparently fair they readily assented; and, having thus far prevailed, he cast the lot. He to whom it fell bared his throat to the next, not doubting but the general would soon share his fate; for death, with Josephus, they deemed sweeter than life. He, however—whether we ought to say by fortune, or by the providence of God—was left with one other; and, anxious neither to be condemned by the lot himself, nor, should he remain the last, to stain his hands with kindred blood, he persuaded him also, on a pledge given, to remain alive.

8. Josephus, having thus escaped in the war with the Romans, as in that with his friends, was conducted to Vespasian by Nicanor. The Romans crowded from all quarters to obtain a sight of him; and as the multitude pressed together around the general, a scene of varied disorder ensued: some exulting in his capture; some threatening; and others pushing forward to obtain a nearer view. Some,

from the distance, cried out to punish their enemy; while those beside him were penetrated with a recollection of his exploits, and pity for his reverse. Nor was there among the officers one, who, however previously exasperated, did not then relent on beholding him. Owing to his own virtuous disposition, Titus, in particular, was touched by the fortitude with which Josephus bore his misfortunes, and felt compassion for a man thus situated in the prime of life. Remembering, moreover, how recently he had been in battle, and now seeing him a captive in the hands of foes, he was led to reflect on the power of fortune, the quick alternations of war, and the instability of human affairs. He disposed many, therefore, at the time to adopt his views, and commiserate Josephus; and proved, in the sequel, through his intercession with his father, the chief cause of his preservation. Vespasian, however, ordered him to be guarded with unremitting vigilance, purposing to send him without delay to Nero.

9. On hearing this Josephus intimated that he wished to speak in private to him; and Vespasian having removed all except his son Titus, and two of his friends, Josephus addressed him in these words: "You think, Vespasian, that you have possessed yourself merely of a captive in Josephus; but I come to you as a messenger of greater things. Had I not received a commission from God, I knew the law of the Jews, and how it becomes a general to die. Do you send me to Nero? Wherefore? Are there any remaining to succeed Nero, previous to your own accession? You, Vespasian, are Cæsar and emperor—you, and this your son. Bind me, then, the more securely, and keep me for yourself. For you, Cæsar, are master not only of me, but of sea and land, and of the whole human race. And I deserve the punishment of stricter ward, if I talk lightly, especially in a matter pertaining to God."

This declaration of Josephus, Vespasian was at first little inclined to credit, supposing it an ingenious artifice to save his life. Gradually, however, he was led to believe it, God already having raised him to power, and by other signs foreshowing the sceptre. He had, however, a farther proof of the veracity of Josephus; for one of those friends who were present at the private interview, having expressed his "surprise that he should have been unable to predict either the reduction of Jotapata, or his own captivity, if this were not a weak attempt to avert the resentment excited against him," Josephus replied, that "he had likewise, to the people of Jotapata, foretold that the city would be captured on the forty-seventh day, and himself taken alive by the Romans."

Vespasian, having privately inquired from the prisoners respecting these statements, and found them true, began to credit those relating to himself. He relaxed, however, neither the custody nor chains of Josephus, though he presented him with raiment and other articles, and continued to treat him with kindness and attention, Titus contributing much to these respectful courtesies.

CHAPTER IX.

1. ON the fourth of the month Panemus, Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, whence he repaired to Cæsarea, on the sea coast, a city of Judæa, of great extent, and chiefly inhabited by Greeks. Here both the army and its commander were received by the citizens with varied acclamations, and demonstrations of joy, proceeding in some measure from goodwill toward the Romans, but mainly from hatred of the vanquished. Accordingly, assembling in crowds, they demanded with loud vociferations the punishment of Josephus; but this petition, as presented by an inconsiderate multitude, Vespasian silently rejected. Finding the place adapted for the purpose, he directed two of the legions to winter there; ordering the fifteenth to Scythopolis, that he might not burden Cæsarea with the entire army. The climate of this city is as genial in winter, as it is insupportable from the extreme heat in summer; for it lies in a plain, and on the sea coast.

2. Meanwhile, however, those who on the revolt had fallen off from the enemy, or escaped from the demolished towns, and who formed no small body, had assembled, and, as a rallying point for themselves, rebuilt Joppa, which had been laid in ruins by Cestius; and as they were debarred from the country, now in occupation of the enemy, they determined to have recourse to the sea. Having, accordingly, constructed a number of piratical vessels, they carried on their depredations upon the line of voyage from Syria, and Phœnicia, as far as Egypt, and rendered the seas in that quarter entirely innavigable. Vespasian, on being informed of this combination, detached a party of horse and foot to Joppa, who, as it was unguarded, entered the city by night. Its occupants, who had received intimation of the incursion, fled in terror to their ships, and, declining all effort to repel the Romans, passed the night beyond the reach of missiles.

3. Joppa is, by nature, harbourless; being terminated by a rugged

shore, running in a direct line, except that it is slightly curved at the extremities, which consist of vast precipices and crags, jutting into the sea. Here also traces of Andromeda's chains are still pointed out, attesting the antiquity of the legend. The north wind, beating full in upon the coast, and driving the waves high against the opposing rocks, renders the roadstead more insecure than the watery waste.

Whilst the people of Joppa were here tossing about, they were assailed, towards morning, by a furious blast, called by the mariners who navigate those parts "the Black Norther," which dashed their ships, some against each other, and some against the rocks; while many in the face of the waves bearing out to sea, their crews dreading the shore, which was rocky, and the enemy who occupied it, foundered among the towering billows. There was neither means of flight, nor yet safety if they remained; for they were driven from the sea by the violence of the wind, and from the city by the Romans. Fearful was the shriek when the vessels were dashed against one another, and loud the crash when they broke up. Of the multitude, some perished, overwhelmed by the waters, and many involved in the wreck of their ships: whilst others, anticipating the sea, sought death from their own swords, as a lighter alternative. The greater part of them, however, swept to the shore by the waves, were torn by the rugged cliffs, insomuch that the sea was discoloured far and wide with blood, and the coast covered with dead; those cast on shore being massacred by the Romans, who were waiting to receive them. The bodies thrown up amounted to four thousand two hundred. The Romans, having taken the town without opposition, razed it to the ground.

4. Thus was Joppa, within a brief interval, a second time captured by the Romans. Vespasian, in order to prevent the pirates from again harbouring there, formed an encampment on the citadel, and left in it the cavalry, with a few infantry. The latter were to remain stationary, and guard the camp: the former to ravage the district around, and destroy the villages and small towns in the vicinity of Joppa. Accordingly, in obedience to their instructions, they overran the country, daily pillaging it, and reducing it to an utter desert.

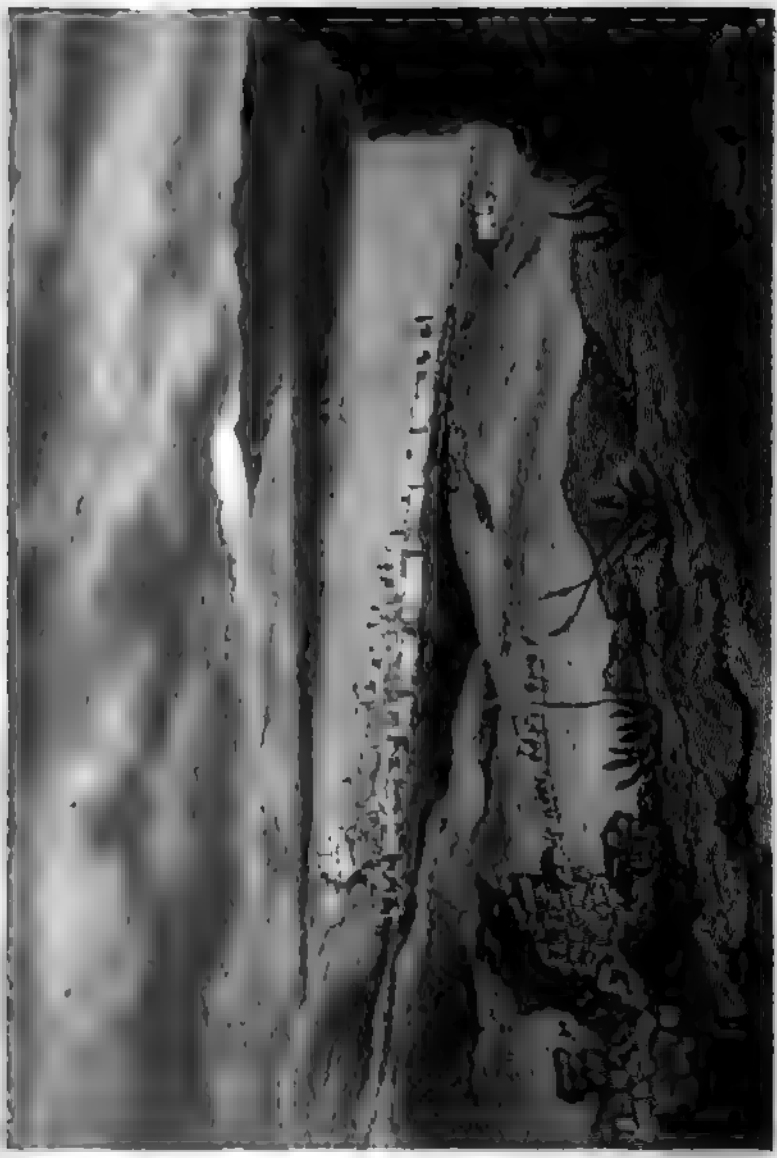
5. When the fate of Jotapata was told in Jerusalem, it was at first generally disbelieved, as well from the magnitude of the calamity, as because no eye-witness of the events was forthcoming; for not a single individual had survived to convey the tidings. But rumour, springing naturally from sad events, had of herself announced the capture. By degrees, the truth made its way through the adjoining parts, and the fact was now regarded by all as too certain for doubt. Nay, in addition to what actually took place, things were fabricated

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that never occurred. Thus it was stated that Josephus had fallen at the capture. This filled Jerusalem with the deepest sorrow. In every house, indeed, and among the kindred of those who had perished, the deceased were severally bewailed; but the mourning for the commander was general. Some grieved for hosts, some for relatives, some for friends, and some for brothers, but all for Josephus. Thus during thirty days the lamentations had no cessation in the city; and many minstrels were hired to lead the mournful strains.

6. But when the truth was disclosed by time, and the events as they had occurred at Jotapata became known, the death of Josephus was found to be a fiction; and when it was understood that he was alive, and with the Romans, and honoured by the officers beyond the fortune of a captive, they felt as much resentment towards him living, as they had before of affection when they supposed him dead. By some he was upbraided as a coward, by others as a traitor, and the city was filled with indignation and imprecations against him. They were exasperated, moreover, by their calamities, and still further inflamed by their pernicious measures. Nay, defeat, which suggests means of precaution to the wise, and leads them to provide against similar misfortunes, goaded them on to new disasters: so that the termination of one evil was invariably the commencement of another. They accordingly attacked the Romans with renewed energy, in them to avenge themselves on Josephus. Such were the disorders that now prevailed in Jerusalem.

7. Vespasian, designing personally to examine the territories of Agrippa, removed from Cæsarea on the sea coast, to the city called Cæsarea-Philippi. For the king, at once from a wish to entertain the general and the army in the best manner his private resources permitted, and to allay through them the disorders of his kingdom, had invited him into his dominions. Here he rested his troops for twenty days, and enjoyed himself in festivities, presenting thank-offerings to God for his success. But being informed that disaffection was showing itself in Tiberias, and that Tarichæa had already revolted—both were part of Agrippa's kingdom—and being resolved to subjugate the Jews in all quarters, he thought that an expedition against them would be well-timed, even for Agrippa's advantage, if, in requital of his hospitality, he should reduce those towns to reason for him. He therefore sent his son Titus to Cæsarea, to conduct the troops there stationed to Scythopolis, the largest city of Decapolis, and neighbouring to Tiberias; and thither he himself proceeded to await his son. Advancing with three legions, he encamped thirty furlongs from Tiberias, at a station called Sennabris, in view of the malecontents.



TIBERIAS

He then despatched Valerian, a decurion, at the head of fifty horse, to propose peaceful measures to those in the town, and urge them to confide in his assurances of protection. For he had heard that the people were desirous of peace, but had been compelled by some abettors of revolt to join the movement.

When Valerian, who was on horseback, approached the ramparts, he alighted, directing his troop to do the same, lest it might be supposed that they came to skirmish. But before the parties addressed each other, the more influential of the insurgents, headed by the leader of the brigand band, one Joshua, the son of Saphat, rushed out upon him in arms. Thinking it hazardous to engage contrary to the orders of the general, even were he assured of victory, while, moreover, it were dangerous with a handful of men to meet a numerous force, his own being unprepared, and his antagonists fully equipped; and disconcerted, besides, by the unexpected daring of the Jews, Valerian fled on foot; five others, in like manner, abandoning their horses. These Joshua and his comrades led off to the town, exulting as if they had taken them in battle, and not by stratagem.

8. Dreading the consequences of this affair; the elders of the people, and the men of rank, repaired in haste to the Roman camp; and, accompanied by the king, threw themselves as suppliants at the feet of Vespasian, imploring him not to disregard their prayer, nor impute to the whole city the madness of a few; but to spare the people, who had always been friendly to the Romans, and to punish the authors of the revolt, by whom they had till now been kept under guard, long anxious as they were for his protection. To these entreaties the general, though incensed against the entire city on account of the capture of the horses, yielded; for he saw that Agrippa felt much uneasiness respecting it. The deputation having received a pledge of protection for the people, Joshua and his party, thinking it unsafe longer to continue at Tiberias, made off to Tarichæa.

The next day Vespasian sent Trajan forward with some horsemen to the ridge of the hill, with the view of testing the multitude, whether all were disposed for peace. Having ascertained that they coincided in sentiment with the petitioners, he led his army to the city. The inhabitants threw open their gates to him, and met him with acclamations, hailing him as their saviour and benefactor. The troops being crushed owing to the narrowness of the entrance, Vespasian, ordering part of the south wall to be thrown down, widened the passage for them. In compliment to the king, however, he charged them to abstain from rapine and outrage; and for his

sake also, as he pledged himself for the future fidelity of the inhabitants, he spared the fortifications. And thus was rescued from sedition a city which had been harassed with various ills.

CHAPTER X.

1. VESPASIAN, advancing from Tiberias, encamped between that town and Tarichæa, fortifying his post with the greater care, from a suspicion that the war in that quarter would be protracted; as the disaffected were flowing in one general conflux to Tarichæa, confiding in its strength, and in its position on the lake, which by the inhabitants of the district is called Gennesareth. For that city, lying, like Tiberias, at the foot of a mountain, had, on those sides not washed by the lake, been strongly fortified by Josephus, though less securely than Tiberias; for the walls there had been built on the first outbreak of the insurrection, at a large expenditure of money and labour; whereas Tarichæa had partaken merely of the residue of his bounty. They had withal many ships in readiness on the lake as a refuge in case of defeat on shore, and fitted up for a naval engagement, should circumstances require.

While the Romans were throwing up their intrenchments, Joshua and his comrades, alarmed neither by the number nor discipline of the enemy, sallied out, and, having at the first onset dispersed the workmen, levelled a little of the structure; when, seeing the troops collecting, they fell back, before they had sustained any loss, upon their own party. The Romans pursued, and drove them to their ships. Sailing out, but so as still to keep the Romans within reach of their missiles, they cast anchor; and, forming their fleet in close line, like the ranks of an army, maintained a naval conflict with their antagonists on shore. Vespasian, hearing that they had assembled also in great numbers on the plain before the town, despatched his son thither with six hundred picked cavalry.

2. Titus, finding that the enemy were in prodigious strength, sent to inform his father that he required a reinforcement. Remarking, however, that many of his men were eager to come to action even before succour arrived, whilst some were secretly filled with alarm at the multitude of the Jews—standing on a spot whence he might be audible, he spoke as follows:

“ Men, Romans!—for it becomes me, in the opening of my address, to remind you of your descent, that you may know who we are, and with whom we are to contend. For to this hour nothing on the habitable globe has escaped our hands; and yet the Jews—to refer also to them—though discomfited, still maintain the contest. And shameful were it, that, while they bear up in disaster, we should faint in success. I rejoice to witness the alacrity which you manifest: but I fear lest any of you should be inspired with secret alarm by the multitude of our foes. Let such an one again reflect, who he is, and against whom he is arrayed; and that the Jews, though undaunted, and reckless of life, are nevertheless ill disciplined, and unskilled in war, and may rather be styled a rabble than an army.

“ But, why need I allude to our skill and discipline? We alone, even in times of peace, are exercised in arms, that in the day of battle we may not contrast our own numbers with those of our opponents. What, indeed, avails our uninterrupted training, if we must be marshalled, man for man, against an untrained foe? Consider, too, that the contest lies between the armed and unarmed, infantry and cavalry—those who have a leader, and those who have none: and, as these advantages make you manifold more, so do their disadvantages detract much from the number of our antagonists. Again, it is not a multitude of men, however soldierlike they may be, that ensures victory in the field: but fortitude, though only in a few. For such, indeed, are easily marshalled, and brought up to each other's support; whilst unwieldy masses are more injured by themselves than by the enemy. The Jews are led on by temerity and self-confidence, affections of mere madness, and, though highly efficient in success, extinguished by the slightest mischance: we, by valour, by disciplined obedience, and by that fortitude, which, while it flourishes in prosperity, fails not to the very last in adversity.

“ But it is for a nobler prize than the Jews that you contend. For, albeit that for freedom and country they incur the dangers of war, what higher motive can stimulate us than glory, and the consideration, that after achieving the empire of the world, it must not appear that the Jews are able to resist us? Besides, we should reflect, that we have no irreparable disaster to apprehend; for those prepared to succour us are many, and at hand. Yet, we can snatch the victory, and it behoves us to anticipate the succour on its way to us from my father, that, unshared, the greater may be our triumph.

“ And, if I err not, in this hour, my father is on his trial, and myself, and you—whether he indeed is worthy of past successes, I of being his son, and you of being my soldiers. For, to him, victory is

familiar : and I could never bear to return to him, if I were defeated : and will not you be ashamed if surpassed by your commander, when he leads the way to danger ? For in the path of danger be well assured that I will lead, and throw myself first upon the enemy. Be not, then, outdone by me, convinced that my efforts will be aided by an assisting God : and know for certain that we shall be more successful in a close engagement."

3. During this harangue of Titus, the men were seized with a supernatural ardour ; and when Trajan, with four hundred horse, arrived prior to the action, they took it to heart, as the victory, thus shared, would be lessened to themselves. Vespasian had, likewise, despatched Antonius Silo, with two thousand archers, whom he directed to occupy the hill over against the town, and keep in check those on the ramparts ; and, according to his instructions, they prevented any assistance being afforded from that quarter. Titus now, spurring his horse, led the charge against the enemy : his men followed with loud shouts, extending themselves across the plain, until their line equalled that of their opponents, and thus materially augmenting their apparent strength.

The Jews, though dismayed at their furious onset and regular array, for a short time withstood the attack ; but, being galled by the lances, and overthrown by the impetuous rush of the cavalry, they were trampled down. Many being slaughtered on all sides, the remainder dispersed, and fled, each with what haste he could, towards the city. Titus, pursuing them hotly, cut up their rear, now breaking through their dense masses, and now pushing in advance of them, he charged them in front : many he drove confusedly together, and, dashing in upon them as they fell one over another, trod them down : all he intercepted in their retreat to the ramparts, and turned them back to the plain ; until at length, by their numbers, they forced their way through, and escaped in a body into the town.

4. But a fierce contention awaited them within. For the inhabitants, as well for the sake of their property as of the city, having from the first been indisposed to war, were more so at that moment from their discomfiture ; while the strangers, a numerous party, opposed them violently. Thus, mutually enraged, clamour and tumult prevailed ; and they were on the point of appealing to arms. Titus, who was not far from the wall, hearing the disturbance, called aloud : " Now is the time. Why, then, fellow-soldiers, do we delay, when God is delivering to us the Jews ? Accept the victory. Hear you not the uproar ? Those who have escaped our hands are quarrelling among themselves. The town is ours, if we but use despatch. To

promptitude, however, we must add exertion and resolution: for nothing great is wont to be accomplished without danger. It behoves us not only to anticipate the concord of our enemies, whom necessity will speedily unite, but the assistance of our friends, that, besides defeating so vast a multitude, we may, few though we be, unaided capture the city."

5. As he spoke he sprang upon his horse, and, galloping down to the lake, rode through it, and was the first to enter the town, followed by his men. Terror-struck at his daring, those on the ramparts waited neither to fight nor impede his progress. Abandoning their post, Joshua and his associates dispersed through the country: others ran down to the lake, and fell in with their antagonists on the advance: some were killed climbing up into their ships: others, endeavouring to reach them when under weigh. Great, too, was the havoc in the city, as well of the strangers who had not succeeded in escaping, and who now made resistance, as of the residents, who offered none—for, in the hope of protection, and in the consciousness of having given no countenance to the war, they refrained from arms—until Titus, having punished the guilty, was touched with compassion for the inhabitants, and put an end to the slaughter. Those who had taken refuge on the lake, seeing the city captured, withdrew as far as possible from danger.

6. Titus having despatched a trooper with the gratifying intelligence of this achievement to his father, Vespasian experienced, as was natural, the most lively satisfaction, not less from the valour of his son, than from the success of the enterprise: for the most serious difficulties of the war seemed now to be removed. Repairing thither immediately, he placed guards over the city, that none might clandestinely withdraw from it, ordering them to put all such to the sword. Going down next day to the lake, he gave directions for fitting out rafts against the fugitives; and, as materials were abundant, and workmen numerous, his commands were speedily executed.

7. The lake of Gennesareth, deriving its appellation from the adjacent district, is forty furlongs in breadth, and a hundred and forty in length. Its waters are at once sweet, and extremely pleasant to drink, as they flow in a clearer stream than the muddy collections of marshes: and they can be drawn free from impurities, being throughout confined by abrupt and sandy shores. They are of a medium temperature, milder than those of the river or the fountain, yet uniformly colder than might be expected from the expanse of the lake: not less so, indeed, than snow, when they are exposed to the air, as it is customary with the people of the country to do with them

during the summer nights. The kinds of fish found here differ from those elsewhere met with, both in flavour and species. This lake, it may be added, is intersected by the Jordan.

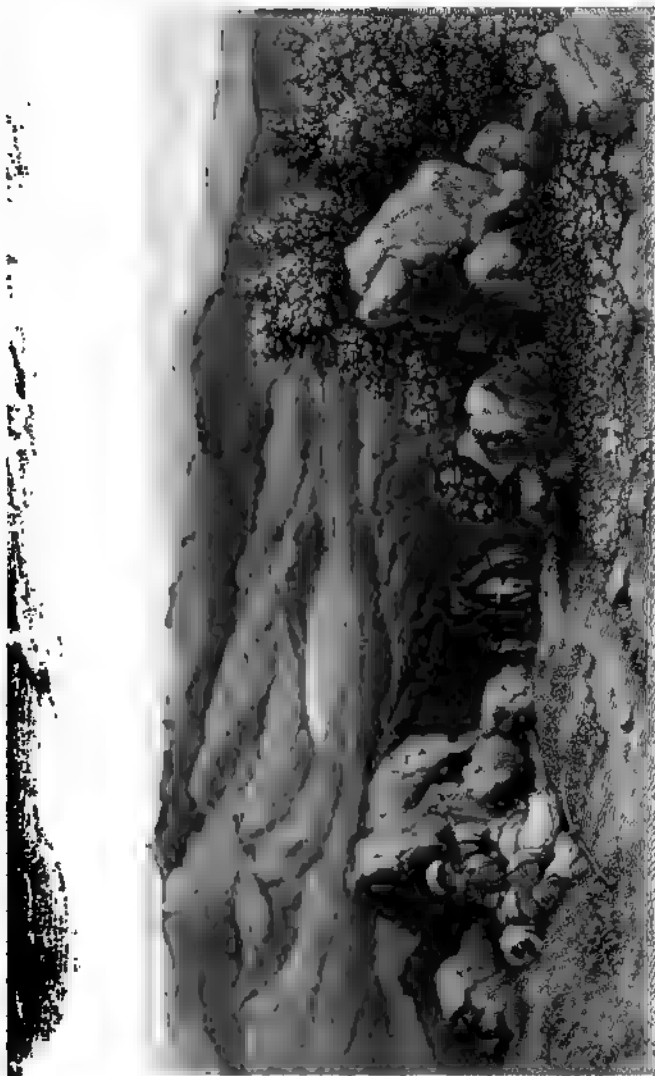
Apparently, Panium is the source of the Jordan; but the water is, in reality, conveyed thither unseen by a subterranean channel from Phiala, as it is called, which lies not far from the high road, on the right as you ascend to Trachonitis, at the distance of a hundred and twenty furlongs from Cæsarea. From its circumference, it is appropriately designated Phiala (bowl), being a lake of a circular form. The water remains uniformly on a level with the margin, without subsidence, or overflow.

That the Jordan hence derived its origin was formerly unknown, until it was ascertained by Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis; who, having thrown chaff into Phiala, found it cast up at Panium, where it was anciently supposed the river took its rise. The natural beauty of Panium was improved by royal munificence, the place having been ornamented at the expense of Agrippa. Commencing from this cavern, the visible stream of the Jordan divides the lagoons and marshes of the lake Semechonitis; and, flowing an hundred and twenty furlongs below the town of Julias, intersects Gennesareth: then, traversing a vast desert, it empties itself into the lake Asphaltitis.

8. Extending along the lake of Gennesareth, and bearing also its name, lies a tract of country, admirable both for its natural properties, and its beauty. Such is the fertility of the soil, that it rejects no plant, and accordingly all are here cultivated by the husbandman: for so genial is the air, that it suits every variety. The walnut, which delights, beyond other trees, in a wintry climate, grows here luxuriantly; together with the palm-tree, which is nourished by heat: and near to these are figs and olives, to which a milder atmosphere has been assigned. One might style this an ambitious effort of nature, doing violence to herself in bringing together plants of discordant habits, and an amiable rivalry of the seasons, each as it were asserting her right to the soil; for it not only possesses the extraordinary virtue of nourishing fruits of opposite climes, but also maintains a continual supply of them. Thus it produces those most royal of all, the grape and the fig, during ten months, without intermission, while the other varieties ripen the year round; for, besides being favoured by the genial temperature of the air, it is irrigated by a highly fertilizing spring, called Capharnaum by the people of the country. This some have thought a vein of the Nile, from its producing a fish similar to the coracin of the lake of Alexandria. The tract, extending along the



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THE LAKE PHILADELPHIA.

shores of the lake which bears its name, is thirty furlongs in length, and twenty in breadth. And such are its natural peculiarities.

9. When the rafts were prepared, Vespasian, having embarked as many of his troops as he deemed sufficient to cope with those on the lake, pushed out. The fugitives, meanwhile, hard pressed, could neither escape to land, where all were in arms against them, nor yet maintain a naval conflict on equal terms; for their boats, being small, and built for piracy, could avail little against the rafts; and the few, who severally manned them, were afraid to close with the dense ranks of the Romans. Sailing round the line of rafts, notwithstanding, and occasionally approaching, they flung stones from a distance at the Romans, or galled them in a nearer attack; but in both instances they sustained greater injury themselves. For the stones, falling on men cased in armour, did nothing more than produce a pattering sound, the assailants meantime being within range of the missiles of the Romans; and if they ventured closer, ere they could effect aught, they suffered themselves, and were sunk with their shallops. Of those who endeavoured to break through, some they slew, reaching them with their lances; some again, leaping sword in hand into their vessels; whilst others, as the rafts closed in, were caught between them, and captured with their barques.

Those submerged, either a dart surprised when they rose, or a raft fell in with; and did they, in their perplexity, attempt to climb up to their foes, either their heads or hands were cut off by the Romans. Thus great and various was the slaughter of them on all sides, until the survivors, giving way, and their boats being surrounded, were forced on shore. Many, however, who were shut out from the strand, were speared in the water; and many who sprang from their vessels, the Romans slew on land. Then might have been seen the whole lake discoloured with blood, and choked with dead; for not one escaped. Dreadful on the following days was the stench diffused through the country, and shocking the spectacle presented. For the shores were covered with wrecks, and with swollen carcases; while the dead, scorched and putrifying, so infected the air, that not only was this calamity a source of sorrow to the Jews, but hateful even to those who caused it. Such was the issue of this naval engagement. The killed, including those who had previously fallen in the city, amounted to six thousand five hundred.

10. After the battle Vespasian took his seat on a tribunal in Tarichæa, and having separated the strangers from the inhabitants—the former, as it appeared, having commenced hostilities—consulted with his generals whether their lives, also, should be spared. These

officers stating that their liberation would be prejudicial, as they would not remain quiet if let loose—for they were men deprived of homes, capable of violence, and of maintaining war against any with whom they might take refuge—Vespasian, when informed that they were undeserving of his lenity, and that they would employ their freedom against those who granted it, deliberated as to the mode of their destruction. Were he to put them to death there, he suspected that it might exasperate the inhabitants, who would not tolerate in their city the slaughter of so many who had sued for mercy; and, after protection pledged, he could not bear to lay hand on those who had accepted it. His friends, however, overcame his scruples; alleging that nothing done to Jews could be impious, and that expediency should be preferred to propriety, when it was impossible to reconcile their claims. Granting them, therefore, an equivocal impunity, he allowed them to go out by that way alone which led to Tiberias. Readily believing what they wished, they pursued their journey openly, and fearlessly, with their effects, along the permitted route; the Romans, in the meantime, occupying the whole road to the very gates of Tiberias, lest any of them should turn aside, and shutting them up in the town.

Vespasian arrived soon after, and placing them in a body in the circus, ordered the old, and unserviceable, to the number of twelve hundred, to be put to death. From the youth he selected six thousand of the most robust, and sent them to Nero to be employed on the Isthmus. The rest, amounting to thirty thousand four hundred, he sold, with the exception of those presented to Agrippa. For, such of them as were subjects of that prince, he allowed him to dispose of at his discretion. These, likewise, the king sold. The remaining multitude, Trachonites, and Gaulanites, with those from Hippos and Gadara, were, the greater part of them, malecontents and fugitives, to whom the infamy that attended them in peace made war desirable. They were captured on the eighth of the month Gorpiaëus.

THE JEWISH WAR.

BOOK IV.



ARGUMENT OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

1. The siege and capture of Gamala.—2. The surrender of the people of Gischala.—3. Concerning John of Gischala, and the Zealots.—4. The Idumæans, invited by the Zealots, arrive at Jerusalem.—5. The ferocity of the Idumæans and of the Zealots; and how the former returned home.—6. The slaughter of many in the city by the Zealots.—7. The tyranny exercised by John: Vespasian takes Gadara.—8. Vespasian hastens to finish the Jewish War. Description of Jericho, of the Great Plain, and of the Asphaltic Lake.—9. Nero dies at the moment when Vespasian is making his preparations for the siege of Jerusalem.—10. The soldiers, both in Judæa and Egypt, proclaim Vespasian Emperor.—11. Vitellius being defeated and slain, Vespasian hastens to Rome.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

1. THOSE of the Galilæans, who, after the fall of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, returned to their allegiance on the reduction of Tarichæa; and the Romans received the submission of all the garrisons and towns, with the exception of Gischala, and the force which occupied Mount Tabor. With these was associated Gamala, a city opposite to Tarichæa, and lying on the Lake. This had been apporportioned to Agrippa, as had Sogane and Seleucia, both in Gaulanitis: Sogane being part of that called Upper Gaulana, Gamala of the Lower. Seleucia is situate on the Lake Semechonitis, a sheet of water thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length; and the marshes of which extend to Daphne, a spot delightful in various respects, and abounding moreover in springs, which, supplying what is called the little Jordan below the temple of the Golden Calf, flow into the greater.

Agrippa, at the commencement of the revolt, had induced Sogane and Seleucia to accept protection; but Gamala, confiding, even more than Jotapata had done, in its natural defences, refused. A rugged ridge, stretching from a high mountain, rises in a hump midway, and elongates itself from the rise, declining as much before as behind, so as to resemble a camel in form. Hence it derives its name, the people of the country not being particular as to the exactness of the designation. Both in flank and front it is cleft into inaccessible ravines; but at the tail, it is somewhat easier of ascent; being there joined to the mountains, from which, however, the inhabitants severed it by a trench, and rendered the approach more difficult. Against the precipitous face of the mountain, numerous houses had been built, closely crowded one on another: and the city, apparently suspended in the air, seemed to be falling upon itself by reason of its perpendicular site. It inclines towards the mid-day sun; and the hill, stretching upward with a southern aspect to a prodigious height, served as a citadel to the town: while an impregnable cliff above it extended downward into a ravine of vast depth. Within the ramparts was a fountain, at which the city terminated.

2. Though the town possessed such strong natural defences, Josephus, when fortifying it, had still farther secured it by mines and trenches. But its inhabitants, though more emboldened by the natural security of their position than had been the people of Jotapata, were much inferior to them in the number of fighting men. Still such confidence did they feel in their situation, that they would admit no more. For the city, owing to its strength, which had enabled it to hold out against the troops of Agrippa during a siege of seven months, had been filled with fugitives.

3. Vespasian, breaking up from Ammaus, where he had encamped in front of Tiberias, advanced to Gamala. The term Ammaus, in our language, signifies warm water; the name being derived from a warm spring which rises there, possessing sanative properties. The situation of Gamala not permitting the Roman general to surround it with a line of troops, he stationed sentries in those places which were accessible, and occupied the mountain that overhung it. When the legions, according to custom, had fortified their camp on the heights, he commenced operations by throwing up mounds at the tail, and in that quarter on the east, where at the highest spot above the city was a tower, beside which the fifteenth legion had encamped. The fifth legion was employed against the centre of the town, and the tenth in filling up the trenches and ravines.

Meantime king Agrippa, who had approached the ramparts, and was attempting to address those stationed there on the subject of a capitulation, being struck with a stone on the right elbow by one of the slingers, was immediately surrounded by his friends. The Romans were now stimulated to press the siege both by resentment on the king's account, and apprehensions on their own: assured that men who could thus inhumanly treat a fellow-countryman, while advising them for their welfare, would be guilty of every cruelty towards aliens and enemies.

4. The mounds having been quickly completed, as the hands were many and accustomed to the work, the engines were brought up. Chares and Joseph, the persons of highest authority in the town, drew out their forces, though the men were exceedingly alarmed in the persuasion that they could not long sustain the siege, as there was already a deficiency of water and other necessaries. Nevertheless, encouraging them, they led them to the ramparts; and for a short time they kept at bay those who were bringing up the engines, but, being wounded by the catapults and stone projectors, they fell back into the town. The Romans now advanced the rams from three different quarters, and shook the wall. Pouring in at the breach,

amidst the deafening peal of trumpets, and the din of arms, the soldiers with loud shouts encountered the defenders of the city. These, however, having maintained their ground against the first onset, arrested their farther advance, and gallantly repulsed the Romans; until, overpowered by force of numbers, they were obliged to seek shelter in the higher parts of the town; where, falling in turn upon their assailants, who were pressing upon them, they thrust them down the declivities, and slaughtered them while embarrassed by the confinedness and difficulties of the place.

The Romans, unable to repel those who rushed down on them from above, or force their way through their own party who were pushing forward, took refuge on the roofs of their enemies' houses, which abutted on the hill. These being filled with soldiers, and of insufficient strength to sustain the weight, quickly gave way. One in its fall carried many of those below along with it, and these again those beneath them. This proved destructive to numbers of the Romans; for not knowing whither to turn, though they saw the houses sinking, they leaped upon the roofs.

Many were overwhelmed by the ruins; and many who escaped with life were mutilated in different parts of their bodies; while multitudes died of suffocation from the dust. The people of Gamala, viewing this as a divine interposition, pressed forward, regardless of their own loss, and forced their antagonists upon the roofs of the houses: and those who lost their footing in the steep and narrow streets, they slew as they fell, with missiles constantly aimed at them from above. The ruins supplied them with stones in abundance, and their deceased enemies with steel: for they wrested the swords from the slain, and employed them against those still struggling in death. Many, too, after falling from the houses, stabbed themselves, and expired. Nor yet for those who gave way was retreat easy; as, owing to their ignorance of the ways, and the thickness of the dust, unable to recognise one another, they slew their comrades, and fell around each other in heaps.

5. Those who had with difficulty discovered the outlets retired from the town. Vespasian, who invariably remained with those in distress, was deeply affected at seeing the city falling in ruins on his soldiers, and, forgetful of his own safety, had unconsciously but gradually ascended to the highest quarter of the city. Here he was left surrounded with dangers, and with only a handful of men; for his son Titus was absent at the time, having been recently sent into Syria to Mucianus. Thinking it, therefore, neither safe nor honourable to fly, and mindful of his toils from early youth, and of

his character for valour, he, as if by a divine impulse, united in close barrier the bodies and armour of those with him. He thus sustained the tide of war that flowed down from above, and dismayed by the numbers neither of men nor missiles, kept his ground, until the enemy, struck with his supernatural intrepidity, relaxed in ardour. Being now less warmly pressed, he retreated step by step, and without showing his back, until he was outside the ramparts.

In this conflict multitudes of the Romans were slain; among them Ebutius the decurion, a man, who not only in the engagement in which he fell, but on every former occasion, had proved himself bravest of the brave, and had inflicted many evils on the Jews. A centurion named Gallus, being with ten soldiers surrounded during the fray, concealed himself in a private house. He and his party, who were Syrians, having overheard the inmates conversing at supper of the intentions of the town's-people, as regarded the Romans and themselves, he rose on them in the night, and, slaughtering them all, escaped with his comrades to the camp.

6. As the troops were dejected at the thought of these disasters, from having never before experienced so severe a calamity, and were then more particularly ashamed at leaving the general alone in danger, Vespasian, omitting all reference to himself, that he might not appear to begin with a complaint, consoled them with the observation, that "those casualties, to which all are liable, it behoves us to bear with fortitude, reflecting on the nature of war, which never grants a bloodless victory, as Fortune hovers fluctuating around the field. Myriads of the Jews," he said, "have succumbed to our arms, and we now pay to that deity a trifling compensation. As it belongs to the foolish to be greatly elated by success, so does it to the unmanly to tremble in adversity. For, from one of these, to the other, the change is rapid; and he is the best soldier, who is sober under misfortunes, that with persevering cheerfulness he may repair his disasters. What has now occurred, however, arose neither from our effeminacy, nor from the valour of the Jews. Their advantage, as our disappointment, originated in the natural difficulties of the place. In this case, blame may justly attach to your inconsiderate ardour. For when your antagonists had retired to the heights, you ought to have restrained yourselves, and not have followed them to the dangers which awaited you from above. Having mastered the lower town, you should gradually have drawn those who had fled upwards into secure and steady combat: whereas, in your vehement pursuit of victory, you neglected your own safety. Want of circumspection in war, however, and headstrong impetuosity, belong not to Romans, who owe all their success to skill and

discipline: it is a barbaric error, and one by which the Jews are especially misled. It behoves us, therefore, to fall back upon our native valour, and rather to be angry, than to despond, at this unworthy mischance. Let every one from his own right hand seek his best consolation. For thus shall you avenge the lost, and punish those who slew them. And it shall be my care, as in this so in every engagement, to be foremost against the foe, and the last to retire."

7. With such language he re-animated his troops. The people of Gamala, meanwhile, assumed a momentary confidence from this signal and brilliant success. But when in the sequel they considered that no hope of accommodation now remained, and reflected that escape was impossible—for their supplies were already deficient—they were exceedingly disquieted, and dejected in mind. Nevertheless, so far as circumstances permitted, they did not neglect their safety. The bravest guarded the breaches, and the rest, crowding round, defended what still remained of the wall. But while the Romans were constructing their mounds, and again endeavouring to effect an entrance, multitudes fled from the city down pathless ravines, where no watch was kept, and through subterraneous passages. As many however as, from fear of being taken, continued in the town, perished from want; every spot around having been ransacked for provisions for those capable of bearing arms.

8. Amidst such sufferings they still maintained the struggle. As an appendage to the siege, Vespasian engaged in operations against those who had occupied Tabor, a mountain lying midway between the Great Plain and Scythopolis. The ascent is thirty furlongs, the place being almost inaccessible on the north. The summit is a plain, of six-and-twenty furlongs:—and the whole of it fortified. But, extensive as was the wall, it had been raised in forty days by Josephus, who was supplied with materials and water from below; the inhabitants depending solely on rain. A vast multitude having here congregated, Vespasian detached Placidus to the spot with six hundred horse. Finding it impracticable to ascend the heights, he invited the assemblage to terms, holding out a hope of his protection and advocacy. They descended accordingly, but with a counter design; for Placidus addressed them mildly, with a view to capture them in the plain: whilst they came down, as if acquiescing in his proposal, that they might fall upon him when off his guard. The craft of Placidus, however, succeeded. For, the Jews having commenced the action, he feigned flight, and having drawn his pursuers far into the plain, he ordered his cavalry to wheel round, and thus routed them. Having put great numbers to the sword, he intercepted the remainder, and

prevented their return. Those who abandoned Tabor, fled to Jerusalem: the inhabitants, under promise of protection, and urged by want of water, delivered up the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

9. The more adventurous of the people of Gamala had fled secretly, and the feeble perished by famine. The effective force, however, maintained the siege until the twenty-second of the month Hyperberetæus, when three soldiers of the fifteenth legion, about the morning watch, stealing up, silently undermined a lofty tower opposite to them; unperceived by the sentries stationed on it either in their approach, for it was night, or after they had reached it. Their object thus far accomplished, the soldiers, avoiding noise, having rolled away five of the principal stones, sprang down; and the tower fell suddenly with a tremendous crash, carrying the guards with it headlong. Those who were on the watch at the other posts fled in perturbation. Many who attempted to cut their way out, were killed by the Romans, and among them Joseph, who was slain as he was making his escape through the breach. Those in the city, terrified by the noise, ran in every direction, in a state of the utmost consternation; as if the whole of the enemy had fallen upon them. At this moment, Chares, who was sick and confined to his bed, expired; terror contributing to the fatal termination of his disorder. The Romans, warned by their former disaster, did not enter the fortress until the twenty-third of the month above mentioned.

10. Titus, who had by this time returned, indignant at the loss which the Romans had sustained in his absence, selecting two hundred horsemen, and a body of infantry, entered the city without noise. The guards, perceiving him as he passed, flew with loud clamour to arms. His entrance being quickly communicated to those within, some, snatching up their children, and dragging their wives along, fled to the citadel with bitter cries and lamentations; while those who met with Titus, perished without intermission. They, who were prevented from taking refuge on the summit of the hill, fell in their perplexity among the Roman sentries. Dreadful on all sides were the groans of those mortally wounded, and the blood flowing down the declivities, inundated the whole town.

To aid the operations against the party who had fled to the citadel, Vespasian brought up his entire force. The summit, rocky, difficult of access, rising to a vast height, and surrounded with precipices, was everywhere crowded with people. Here the Jews cut down those who were advancing, and with other weapons, and stones which they rolled down, made great havoc; they themselves being so elevated,

that a dart would scarcely reach them. To seal their destruction, however, a storm miraculously arose, blowing full in their faces, which, while it carried against them the darts of the Romans, turned theirs aside, and drove them in an oblique direction. Nor could they, owing to the violence of the wind, stand on the edge of the precipices, having no secure footing; nor yet discern those who were approaching. The Romans, accordingly, ascended, surrounded and slaughtered them, some defending themselves, and others stretching out their hands in supplication; for the recollection of those who fell in the first attack inflamed their fury against all. Multitudes, hemmed in on every side, despairing of escape, holding their children and their wives in their embrace, plunged headlong into the ravine, which had been excavated to a vast depth below the citadel. And thus it occurred, that the rage of the Romans seemed milder than the frantic violence of the vanquished towards themselves: the number slain by the former being four thousand, while those, who cast themselves from the heights, were found to exceed five. Two females alone survived the general carnage. They were nieces by the maternal side, of Philip, son of Jacimus, a distinguished man, who had been commander-in-chief under King Agrippa. They owed their preservation to their having secreted themselves at the capture of the town; for such was the fury of the Romans, that not even infants were spared; many of them being snatched up on the instant, and slung from the citadel. Thus was Gamala taken. On the twenty-fourth of the month Gorpiaeus, the revolt commenced; and on the twenty-third of Hyperberetæus, the fortress fell.

CHAPTER II.

1. GISCHALA, a small town of Galilee, now alone remained to be reduced. The inhabitants, indeed, were disposed to peace; being chiefly husbandmen, whose views had always been confined to their crops: but there had crept in among them a numerous party of brigands, by whom some even of the magistracy had been corrupted. These had been drawn into the insurrection, and encouraged in it, by John, the son of Levi, a man of intrigue, and capable of assuming any character, inclined to indulge vast expectations, and singularly adept in realizing his hopes. He was generally known to have his heart set on war, with a view to the attainment of supreme power. Under him

the malecontents of Gischala had ranged themselves, and through their means it occurred that the townsmen, who had already sent a deputation to treat of a surrender, were induced, in the attitude of defiance, to await the approach of the Romans. Against these Vespasian despatched Titus with a thousand horse, directing the tenth legion to proceed to Scythopolis, while he himself returned with the other two legions to Cæsarea, to recruit them after their incessant toil; thinking that the abundant supplies in those cities would invigorate their bodies, and impart fresh alacrity for future conflicts. For he saw that no little labour was in reserve for him, under the walls of Jerusalem, as well because it was the royal city, and the capital of the nation, as from its being the point of conflux for all who fled from the seat of war. Its strength, natural and artificial, occasioned him no ordinary solicitude, more particularly as he conjectured that the high spirit and daring of its people would, even without the aid of fortifications, render their reduction difficult. He accordingly trained his soldiers, like wrestlers, for the combat.

2. Titus, on riding up to Gischala, ascertained that it might easily be carried by assault. But, sensible that should it be taken by storm the people would be consigned to general massacre by the troops—he was himself satiated with slaughter—and moved with compassion for the great body of the people, who would perish indiscriminately with the guilty, he wished the place rather to be surrendered by capitulation. Accordingly, when the ramparts were crowded with men, most of whom were of the corrupted party, he remarked to them, that “he could not but wonder what they relied on, that, after every other city had fallen, they should remain alone in arms against the Romans; especially when they saw much stronger towns overthrown at the first assault, and beheld in the secure enjoyment of their possessions, those who had trusted the proffered pledge of the Romans—that right hand which, uninfluenced by any vindictive feeling for their presumption, he now extended to them. The hope of liberty was pardonable; but perseverance in impossibilities inexcusable. Should they decline this humane proposal, and the pledge of good faith, they would experience his relentless arms, and would soon be made to know that their ramparts would be mere pastime for the Roman engines—those ramparts, reliance on which had placed them alone of the Galilæans, in the light of arrogant captives.”

3. To this address, not only were none of the citizens permitted to reply, but not even were they allowed to ascend the wall; for it had been completely pre-occupied by the brigands: while guards had been posted at the gates, to prevent the egress of those who wished to go

out on terms, or the admission of any of the cavalry into the town. John replied that "he was satisfied with these conditions, and would either persuade or coerce the recusants. Titus must, however, grant him that day, the seventh, in deference to the Jewish law, as on it they were forbidden alike to use arms, or to treat of peace. Even the Romans were not ignorant that the recurrence of the seventh day brought them a ~~cessation~~ from all labour: and he who compelled to its violation would be not less impious than those compelled. And to him this delay could cause no injury; for, what could any one contemplate in a night beyond a mere escape; which he could guard against by encamping around the city? To them, the gain would be great, not to have transgressed their national usage: while to the individual who granted an unexpected peace, it would be seemly to preserve also their institutions to those thus saved." By such language John imposed on Titus, for his own personal safety was more the object of his solicitude than the seventh day; and under the apprehension that, should the town be taken, he would immediately be deserted, he rested his hopes of life on darkness and flight. It was, however, the work of God, who thus preserved John for the destruction of Jerusalem, that Titus was not only prevailed upon by this pretext of delay, but induced to encamp farther from the city, at Cydæssa. This is a strong inland village of the Tyrians, always at feud and variance with the Galilæans, as having, in its numerous population and strength, resources for its quarrel with that nation.

4. At nightfall, John, seeing no Roman guard about the town, seized the opportunity, and accompanied not only by what soldiers were with him, but by many of the idler sort, attended by their families, fled towards Jerusalem. Goaded by the dread of captivity, and fear for his life, he managed to drag with him a crowd of women and children to the distance of twenty furlongs; but there, proceeding on his journey, he abandoned them; and dreadful were their wailings when thus forsaken, for, the farther they were from their friends, the nearer they fancied themselves to their foes.

Thinking that those who were about to make them prisoners were already at hand, they were agitated with alarms; and looked about at the sound of each other's steps, as if their pursuers were upon them. Many, too, strayed into pathless wastes, and in the strife who should outstrip the other on the road, many were trodden to death. Piteous was the fate of the women and children; a few of whom summoned courage to call back their husbands and relations, imploring them with bitter cries to wait for them. But John's exhortations prevailed. "Save yourselves," he called aloud, "and flee to

some place of security, where we may avenge ourselves on the Romans, if they plunder those we leave behind." Accordingly, as strength or speed severally enabled them, the crowd of fugitives dispersed.

5. When day broke, Titus appeared before the wall to propose terms. The people threw open the gates, and approaching him with their children and wives, greeted him with acclamations as a benefactor, who had liberated their city from duress. They informed him, at the same time, of John's flight, entreating him to spare them, to advance into the town, and punish the malecontents who remained. Titus, however, deeming the supplications of the people of secondary importance, despatched a squadron of cavalry in pursuit of John. But the chase proved fruitless; and he escaped in safety to Jerusalem. Of those who accompanied him, however, they slew about six thousand, and brought back, driving them before them, nearly three thousand women and children. Titus was exceedingly chagrined at not having visited John's deceit with instant chastisement; but with prisoners in abundance, and the slain, to solace his disappointed resentment, he entered the city amidst universal acclaim; and having directed the troops to throw down, agreeably to the law of capture, a little of the wall, he repressed the disturbers of the public peace rather by threats than punishments. For he feared that, should he endeavour to discover those who merited chastisement, many from personal dislike, or private differences, would accuse the innocent; and he thought it better to leave the guilty in alarm and suspense, than to involve any who did not deserve his resentment, in their destruction. Such might, perhaps, learn wisdom from the dread of punishment, and respect the pardon of past delinquencies: whereas death once inflicted, was irremediable. He secured the town, however, by a garrison, as well to check the insurgents, as to encourage the peaceably disposed. Thus, after occasioning the Romans countless toils, was the whole of Galilee subdued.

CHAPTER III.

1. No sooner had John set foot within Jerusalem, than the whole population poured forth, crowding in thousands round the several fugitives, and eagerly inquiring what calamities had happened without. But though their respiration, still short and heated, indicated how compulsory had been their movements, they blustered under their disasters,

stating that they had not fled from the Romans, but had come to contend with them on safer ground. "It would have been irrational and useless," said they, "recklessly to expose ourselves to danger for Gischala, and such ill-fortified little towns. It behoves us rather to husband our arms and energies for the capital, and combine in its defence."

When, however, they related the fall of Gischala, men generally considered their so-styled honourable withdrawal from it, as no better than a flight: and when the news arrived of the fate of the prisoners, the utmost consternation seized the people, who thence gathered assured presages of their own capture. John, meanwhile, who blushed not for his desertion of his friends, going his rounds, inclined them severally to warlike measures by exciting their hopes; setting forth in false colours the weakness of the Romans; extolling their own strength, and ridiculing the ignorance of the inexperienced: remarking, that even should the Romans take wings, they would never surmount the ramparts of Jerusalem. They had met with difficulties enough among the villages of Galilee, and had shattered their engines against the walls.

2. By these harangues a large body of the youth were seduced, and incited to hostilities. But of the prudent and aged, there was not one who did not mourn over the prospect of the future, as if the hour of the city's dissolution had already arrived. Such was the confusion which now prevailed among the citizens; but prior to the insurrection in Jerusalem, disturbances had broken out in the country. For Titus had already proceeded from Gischala to Cæsarea, and Vespasian from Cæsarea to Jamnia and Azotus; and having reduced those towns, and thrown garrisons into them, returned, bringing a vast multitude who had surrendered under promise of protection. Tumult and civil war now agitated every city; and such as were allowed breathing time by the Romans, turned their hands against one another. Between the advocates of war and the friends of peace, arose a fierce contention. The spirit of animosity was first kindled in families between which some ancient feud subsisted; but, in the sequel, those united by the dearest ties broke off all mutual connexion, associating severally with persons of views similar to their own, and already forming themselves into adverse factions. Every where sedition reared its head: the disaffected, and those actuated by the love of arms, overpowered, by youth and reckless courage, the aged and the prudent. At first the country population addicted themselves separately to rapine; then, congregated in bands, they carried on their depredations

through the district; insomuch that, in cruelty and lawless violence towards their kindred, they differed in nothing from the Romans; and capture by the latter seemed far less grievous to the sufferers.

3. The garrisons of the towns, meanwhile, partly from reluctance to expose themselves, and partly from hatred to the nation, afforded little or no succour to the distressed; until the chiefs of the brigands, satiated with the pillage of the country, collecting together from all quarters, and forming a phalanx of wickedness, crept into Jerusalem—a city without a governor, and, according to ancient usage, receiving without precaution all of Jewish blood; and the more so at that epoch, from the prevailing belief that those who poured into it came uniformly with kind intentions, as confederates. Yet these in the sequel, irrespectively of the insurrection, overwhelmed the city. For, being a useless and inert mass, they consumed those supplies which might have long supported the fighting men; and, besides the calamities of war, they superinduced the miseries of sedition and famine.

4. There were, moreover, other brigands from the country, who entered the city, and, joining the still more flagitious party within the walls, abstained from no species of enormity. For they measured their daring, not merely by rapine and utter spoliation, but proceeded even to murder, which they perpetrated, not under cover of night, nor clandestinely, nor yet on ordinary persons, but openly and by day, and beginning with the most distinguished individuals. Thus their first victim was Antipas, a man of royal extraction, and the most influential in the city: so much so, indeed, that the care of the public treasury was confided to him. Him they seized, and detained in custody; and after him, in succession, Levias, one of the nobles, and Sophas, son of Raguel—both of regal lineage: treating in like manner those of distinction throughout the district. Dreadful consternation now seized upon the public mind; and as if the city were already taken, personal preservation became the object of solicitude to all.

5. The irons, however, with which the captives were loaded, did not satisfy the brigands; nor did they think it safe thus to detain powerful men for any length of time; inasmuch as their families, from their numerical strength, were capable of avenging their wrongs. Nay, the people, stimulated by such lawless violence, might be moved to rise against themselves. They therefore decreed that they should be put to death, and commissioned one John, called, in their vernacular language, the son of Dorcas, the most prompt of their party

in deeds of murder, to carry their resolution into effect. He, with ten others, accordingly, repaired to the prison with drawn swords, and dispatched those in custody. For an act of such atrocity, they pretended a cogent excuse; alleging that these men had held conferences with the Romans relative to a surrender of Jerusalem: and they gave out that they had slain the betrayers of their common liberty. In short, they gloried in their daring deeds, as though they had been the benefactors and preservers of the city.

6. So abject and terrified had the people now become, and so madly infatuated these brigands, that they assumed authority to appoint to the high priesthood. Accordingly, having abrogated the right of those families from which by succession the high priests had been elected, they ordained to the office the ignoble and low born, that they might have accomplices in their impious proceedings. For they who without desert obtained the highest dignity, were under the necessity of obeying those who conferred it. Moreover, by various artifices and slanderous stories, they brought into collision persons in authority, thus providing opportunity for themselves in the mutual contentions of those who would have thrown obstacles in their way; until, satiated with the wrongs they had inflicted on men, they transferred their insults to the Deity, and entered the sanctuary with polluted feet.

7. The multitude having now risen against them at the instance of Ananus, the senior of the chief priests—a man of consummate wisdom, and one who would perhaps have saved the city, had he escaped the hands of the conspirators,—these wretches converted the temple of God into a fortress, to protect them against any outburst of popular violence; and the holy place became their asylum, and the seat of their tyranny. To these bitter evils they now superadded mockery, still more afflictive than their acts. For, putting to the proof the consternation of the people, and ascertaining their own power, they attempted to appoint the high priests by lot, although, as we have stated, the succession was hereditary. In apology for this insidious attempt, they adduced ancient usage, alleging that formerly the high priesthood had been thus determined: but, in truth, it was an abrogation of a law of peculiar force, and an artifice for the attainment of power, devised by men who sought to have the nomination to official appointments entirely in their own hands.

8. Accordingly, sending for one of the pontifical courses, called Eniachim, they submitted the high priesthood to the lot, which, as fortune would have it, fell to an individual who furnished a singular illustration of their wickedness. His name was Phannias. He was

the son of Samuel, of the village of Aphtha, a man not only not of the number of the chief priests, but who—such a mere rustic was he—scarcely knew what the high priesthood meant. Yet did they drag him reluctant from the country, and setting him forth in a borrowed character, as on the stage, they put the sacred vestments on him, and instructed him how to act on the occasion. This shocking impiety, which to them was a subject of merriment and sport, drew tears from the other priests, who beheld from a distance their law turned into ridicule, and groaned over the subversion of the sacred honours.

9. Such a daring procedure the people could not brook, but, as if for the overthrow of a despotism, were aroused one and all. For the most eminent of them, Gorion the son of Joseph, and Symeon the son of Gamaliel, by public addresses to the collective body, and in private interviews with individuals, urged them now at length to punish these destroyers of liberty, and to purge the sanctuary of its blood-stained polluters. Joshua, the son of Gamala, likewise, and Ananus, son of Ananus, men of highest repute among the chief priests, loudly remonstrating with the people at their meetings on their supineness, incited them against the Zealots; for so they styled themselves, as if zealous in the cause of virtue, rather than pre-eminent in the pursuit of vice in its most aggravated forms.

10. An assembly of the populace having been convened, and all being indignant at the seizure of the sanctuary, at the rapines and murders, but making as yet no attempt at resistance, from an apprehension, not ill-founded, of the difficulty of mastering the Zealots, Ananus standing in the midst, and frequently looking at the Temple, his eyes filled with tears, thus spoke:—

“Happy had it been for me to have died, ere I had seen the house of God filled with such abominations, and the unapproachable and holy places crowded with the feet of murderers. And yet, clothed with the vestments of the high priesthood, and called by that most honoured of venerated names, I live, and, too fond of life, shrink from a death which would be the glory of my old age. Yet alone though I be, and as it were isolated, I will resign my single life for God. For why should I live amongst a people insensible to their calamities, and in whom has perished the disposition to grapple with present misfortunes? Thus, plundered, you submit: beaten, you are silent: and over the murdered not one unstifled groan is heard!

“Oh, bitter tyranny! But why do I complain of the tyrants? For have they not been fostered by you and your forbearance? Have not you, overlooking their first assemblages, when they were

yet few, augmented their numbers by silence; and, by remaining quiet while they were arming, turned their arms against yourselves? Albeit you should have repressed their first efforts, when they were assailing your kindred with invectives; but your negligence incited the wretches to rapine, for, when houses were pillaged, not a word was breathed. Therefore their masters were forcibly carried off; and, while they were being dragged through the midst of the city, no arm was raised in their defence.

“ They next tortured with chains those betrayed by you. I forbear to tell their number and characters; but they were unaccused, and uncondemned. No one succoured them when thrown into irons: it followed that we were to look on at their massacre. And we did look on at this; while continually, as from a herd of cattle, the best was led out for sacrifice, nor was there one that raised his voice, or so much as moved a hand. Can you bear, then—can you bear to see your sacred things trampled on? And though you have laid down for these profane wretches steps for their arrogance to mount by, do you not ill brook the eminence they have attained? For now assuredly would they have proceeded to something greater, had they had aught greater than the sanctuary to overthrow. The strongest point in the city, however, has been seized; for henceforth must the temple be spoken of only as a citadel or fortress.

“ But while you are held by a despotism so fortified, and behold your enemies above your heads, on what do you deliberate? or by what arguments do you calm your minds? Is it that you await the arrival of the Romans to succour our holy places? Are matters so with the city? Have we reached such a point of misery, that even enemies should pity us? Will you not arise, most enduring of men, and turning round upon the lash, as the wild beast when smitten, take vengeance on those that strike you? Will you not recall each to your recollection your own personal calamities, and, placing before your eyes all that you have suffered, whet your souls for revenge? Is, then, utterly lost among you that most honourable of the passions, that most closely interwoven with our nature, the desire of freedom? We are become lovers of slavery, and of the hand that deals it, as if we had inherited from our ancestors a spirit of submission. Yet many and arduous were the contests they maintained for independence; nor did they so far bow to the sceptre either of the Egyptians or of the Medes, as not to fulfil the requirements of their own laws. But why need I speak of our forefathers? We are now engaged in a war against the Romans—I forbear to decide whether that war be profitable and expedient, or the contrary—but what is the pretext for it?

Is it not freedom? Shall we, then, refuse obedience to the masters of the habitable globe, and yet tolerate domestic tyrants? Truly, though submission to a foreign power may be borne, when once fortune has proved adverse, yet to yield to our own countrymen, and they profligates, argues us to be ignoble and voluntary slaves.

“But, since I have mentioned the Romans, I will not conceal from you what occurred to me while I was speaking, and turned my thoughts to them. It is this: that although we should fall beneath their arms—and far from us be the experience of that word—we can be called to endure nothing more grievous than what these men have already inflicted on us. Is it not worthy of tears to behold the donatives of the Romans in our temple, and the plunder of fellow-countrymen, who have despoiled and sacrificed our noble metropolis, and to look on at the slaughter of our friends—enormities from which even they would have abstained, had they been victorious? May it not, I say, well call forth our tears, that Romans never overstepped the limits assigned to the profane, nor infringed any of our sacred usages, regarding at a distance, and with trembling awe, the enclosures of our sanctuary: while some, born in this very country, brought up under our institutions, and bearing the name of Jews, walk unconcerned in the midst of the holy places, their hands still warm with kindred blood?

“Who, then, would dread a war from without, and foes who, in comparison, are much more lenient to us than our own countrymen? And verily, if we adapt our language to the facts, Romans may perhaps be found supporters of the laws, while their enemies are within our walls. And I feel persuaded that there is not one among you who did not come from home satisfied that these conspirators against liberty deserve to die, and that it is impossible to devise a punishment worthy of their misdeeds. And confident I am that, even prior to my address, their conduct, the source of so much suffering, had exasperated you against them.

“But, probably, the greater part of you are terror-struck at their numbers, their daring spirit, and the further advantages which they derive from their position. But as these arose from your supineness, so will they be increased by your delay. For their ranks are gaining daily accessions, as every villain deserts to his like; and having up to the present hour met with no obstacle, their daring is the more inflamed. And as to their position being above us, that they must enjoy, and along with it, if we give them time, the benefit of preparation. But be assured, if we attack them, they will be lower than we in point of conscience, and reflection will annihilate the advantage

of a more elevated situation. Perhaps, too, the Deity, whom they have treated with such contumely, will turn back their missiles against themselves, and the impious will perish by their own weapons. Let us only show ourselves to them, and they are unnerved. But, although some danger attend, it were honourable to die before the sacred gates, and to lay down life, if not in behalf of children and wives, yet for God and the sanctuary. I will aid you both with my counsel and my hand; and nothing on our part, which reflection can suggest, shall be wanting for your safety; nor shall you see me spare this body."

11. In this language Ananus incited the people against the Zealots; not ignorant, at the same time, how difficult it would be to subdue them, from their numbers, vigour, and intrepidity, but, above all, from their consciousness of their crimes, as having no hope of ever obtaining pardon for all they had perpetrated. But he preferred submitting to any suffering rather than remain passive while affairs were in such confusion. The multitude then cried out to be led against those whom he denounced, each evincing the utmost promptitude to stand forward in danger.

12. But while Ananus was mustering and arraying those fit for service, the Zealots, hearing how he was employed—for there were some present who acquainted them with everything that was going forward among the people—rushed in a high state of excitement from the temple, both in large and smaller bodies, and spared none that fell in their way. Ananus hastily collected the populace, who, though superior in numbers, were inferior to their opponents in weapons, and from the total want of discipline. But the deficiencies of either party ardour supplied. Those from the city were inspired with a fury more powerful than arms; those from the temple by a daring which no numbers could withstand: the former persuaded that the city would be uninhabitable for them unless the brigands were rooted out of it; the Zealots that, should they not conquer, there was no punishment which they would not undergo.

Contending under the sway of their passions, they at first assailed one another with stones in the city, and before the temple, and maintained a distant combat with javelins; but when either side gave way, the victors employed their swords. The slaughter on both sides was great, and the wounded were many. When any of the populace were injured, their relations carried them into the houses; while the wounded Zealots retired to the temple, their blood dripping on the sacred pavement; and it may be said, that no blood but theirs stained the holy places. Thus far the brigands had always been

successful in their sallies ; but the populace becoming infuriated, and gaining constant accessions, and upbraiding those that gave way, while those who pressed on in the rear refused to open a passage for the fugitives, they turned their whole force against their opponents ; and the brigands, able no longer to withstand the shock, gradually withdrew into the temple, Ananus and his party falling in along with them. Filled with dismay at the loss of the outer court, they fled into the inner, and instantly shut the gates. Ananus, thinking it unseemly to assail the sacred doors, though galled by the missiles of his adversaries from above, and deeming it unlawful, even should he prove victor, to introduce the multitude without previous purification, selected by lot out of all six thousand armed men, whom he stationed as sentinels at the colonnades, others relieving these, and every one being obliged to attend the watch in his turn. Many of the nobles, however, being allowed to retire by those in command, hired some of the lower classes, and sent them to mount guard in their stead.

13. The ruin of this entire party may be attributed to John, whose flight from Gischala we have related. He was a man of consummate craft, and, bearing in his breast an unbounded passion for arbitrary power, had long been covertly plotting against the state. At this juncture, pretending to side with the populace, he accompanied Ananus by day when he went to consult with the leading men, and by night when he visited the watch, betraying his secrets to the Zealots ; so that every plan brought forward by the people, even before it had been well digested, was communicated by him to their opponents. In order that he might escape suspicion, he conducted himself with unbounded obsequiousness towards Ananus and the heads of the popular party. But his assiduity had a contrary effect ; for his extravagant flatteries caused him the rather to be suspected, while his unsought presence on every occasion afforded a presumption that it was he who betrayed their secrets. For it was evident that their enemies were cognisant of all their deliberations, nor was any one more exposed to the suspicion of disclosure than John.

It was no easy matter, however, to shake him off, so powerful had he become by his villanies, and connected as he was with many not undistinguished men, who met in council on the general weal. It was therefore deemed advisable to bind him by oath to good faith. Without any hesitation John swore that he would be true to the people, betray neither counsel nor act to their adversaries, and assist both by his personal exertions and advice in reducing their assailants.

Relying on the oath, Ananus and his party now admitted him without suspicion to their deliberations: nay, they even sent him to the Zealots with proposals for an accommodation; for they were careful to preserve the temple from being polluted by these men, or stained with Jewish blood.

14. John, however, as if he had sworn fealty to the Zealots, rather than against them, entered the temple, and, standing in the midst of them, observed that he had often encountered danger on their behalf, in order that they might be ignorant of none of the secret schemes devised by Ananus and his faction to their prejudice; but that now all were likely to be involved in the most imminent peril, unless some providential interposition should avert it, as Ananus, wearied with delay, had prevailed on the people to send a deputation to Vespasian, inviting him to come and take immediate possession of the city. He had, moreover, as a device against them, appointed a purification service on the ensuing day, in order that his adherents might obtain admission, either under the guise of religion, or by force of arms, and attack them; and he did not see how they could, for any length of time, hold the post, or sustain a conflict against so many opponents.

He added, that it was through the providence of God that he had been deputed to negotiate an adjustment of differences, as Ananus had proffered them terms, that he might fall upon them when unarmed. "It was incumbent on them, therefore, if they had any regard for their lives, either to sue for mercy to their besiegers, or provide some external succour. If they cherished hope of pardon in the event of their being subdued, they must either have forgotten their own daring deeds, or suppose that, as soon as the perpetrators expressed contrition, the sufferers ought immediately to be reconciled to them. But even the penitence of offenders is often hateful, while the resentment of the injured is whetted by power. The friends and kindred of the slain are always on the watch to retaliate, as are a large mass of the people, who are incensed at the dissolution of their laws and courts of justice. And even should there be any inclined to compassion, they would be overpowered by an indignant majority."

CHAPTER IV.

1. THESE representations he diversified, inspiring universal terror; and, though he did not venture openly to mention external aid, he hinted at the Idumæans. In order privately to exasperate the leaders of the Zealots, he accused Ananus of cruelty, stating that he had made them the objects of his especial threats. These were Eleazar son of Simon, who was most confided in of the party for his ability, both in devising suitable measures, and in carrying them into execution; and Zacharias son of Phalek. Both were of sacerdotal lineage. These individuals, on hearing the menaces directed against themselves, in addition to those against the faction in general, and, moreover, that Ananus and his associates, with a view to secure the reins of power, had invited the Romans to their aid—for this, also, John had falsely alleged—were deeply perplexed as to what steps they should take in an emergency so pressing. The people were preparing ere long to attack them; the suddenness of the scheme had cut off all prospect of succour from without; and they might be in the last extremity before their confederates could learn their situation.

It was resolved, however, that the Idumæans should be called in. Accordingly a letter was written in few words, to the effect, that “Ananus had imposed upon the people, and wished to betray the capital to the Romans; that, having in the cause of freedom engaged in revolt, they were themselves now in custody in the temple; that for a little time they could promise themselves safety; but that, unless the Idumæans brought them early relief, they would soon be in the power of Ananus and their enemies, and the city in possession of the Romans.” Instructions also were given to the messengers, who were to confer orally with the Idumæan chiefs. There were selected for the errand two energetic men, of fluent and persuasive eloquence on public affairs, and, what was still more to the purpose, remarkably swift of foot. For they knew that the Idumæans would at once comply, as a people turbulent and impatient of control, ever on the watch for commotion, and delighting in change; moved to arms on the slightest flattery from those who invited them, and hurrying to battle as to a feast. Speed was essential to the errand; and nothing wanting in alacrity for this end, the messengers, each named Ananias, soon presented themselves before the chiefs of Idumæa.

2. Astonished by the despatches and statements of the couriers, they ran through the nation, like madmen, proclaiming an expedition.

The multitude collected swifter than the command, all snatching up their arms as if for the freedom of the capital; and twenty thousand men advanced in military array to Jerusalem, under the orders of four generals: John, and James, the son of Sosas; Simon, son of Cathlas; and Phineas, son of Clusoth.

3. But though the egress of the messengers was concealed alike from Ananus and the sentinels, not so was the approach of the Idumæans. Informed of their march, Ananus directed the gates to be shut and the walls manned. Utterly averse, however, to warlike measures, he determined to try persuasion, before recourse were had to arms. Accordingly Joshua, the chief priest next in seniority to Ananus, ascending the tower opposite to the Idumæans, addressed them as follows:—

“ Amidst the many and various tumults which have agitated the city, in nothing have I so much wondered at the decrees of fortune, as that even what is unexpected should favour the wicked. For you have come to assist these most abandoned of men against us with such alacrity as could not have been anticipated even had our metropolis summoned you against the barbarians. Had I seen your ranks composed of persons of the same stamp as those who invited you, I should not have considered your enterprise irrational; for nothing so cements the affections of men as congeniality of disposition. But as to these, were we to examine them one by one, they would be found deserving each of a thousand deaths. For they, the jest and off-scouring of the whole country, after having squandered their private means, and made trial of their madness on the neighbouring villages and towns, have at length poured clandestinely into the Holy City: brigands who through their unparalleled impiety have polluted this hallowed ground, and who may now be seen recklessly drunk in the sanctuary, and lavishing the spoils of the slain on their own insatiable appetites.

“ But as to your forces, and their appointments, we see them such as would have become them, had the capital, in public council, summoned them to her aid against a foreign foe. And what can we then style it but an insult of fortune, when we survey a whole nation aiding these noted reprobates? Deeply perplexed I am as to what could have inspired you with so sudden a resolve; for you would not, without cogent reason, have put on your armour in behalf of brigands, and against a kindred people. But, as we have heard of Romans and treason—for some of you have just now raised a clamour on this subject, and given out that you are come to rescue the metropolis from thralldom—more have we wondered at the ingenuity

of this falsehood than at all the other daring conduct of these wretches : for men by nature fond of liberty, and on that account ever alert to contend with a foreign enemy, no otherwise could they exasperate against us than by fabricating a charge of betraying our loved freedom. But it becomes you to consider who they are that disseminate this calumny, and at whom it is aimed, and to collect the truth, not from mendacious statements, but from public events. For what necessity now binds us to sell ourselves to the Romans, when we need not have revolted in the first instance ; or, having once revolted, might have returned without delay to our allegiance, ere yet all around had been reduced to desolation ? Whereas now, were we desirous to effect a reconciliation, it would be no easy matter, when the conquest of Galilee has swelled the pride of the Romans ; and to court them, now that they are at our very doors, would bring upon us a disgrace more bitter than death. As regards myself, indeed, I would have preferred peace to death ; but having once declared war, and taken the field, I would rather die with glory, than live in captivity.

“ Do they say, however, that we, the rulers of the people, have privately communicated with the Romans ; or that the people themselves so determined by public decree ? If they accuse us, let them name the friends whom we deputed, or the servants who negotiated the treason. Has any one been discovered proceeding on the errand, or seized in returning ? Are they in possession of our letters ? How could we conceal such a transaction from so many of our fellow-citizens with whom we are hourly associating ? And yet, forsooth, to this small party, and they under guard, and unable to move from the temple into the city, are known the things which are secretly transacted in the country ? They have now become sensible, doubtless, that they must suffer the punishment of their audacity ; for so long as they were free from apprehension, none of us was suspected as a traitor.

“ Is it, however, against the people that they prefer this charge ? Then must the people have publicly deliberated on the subject, and no one would have been excluded from the assembly : in which case, more speedily than any formal communication, rumour would have hastened to you with the tidings. But what then ? Must not ambassadors, in such an event, have been sent to ratify the reconciliation ? Let them tell us, who was designated to that office. But this is clearly a pretext of men struggling against death, and anxious to ward off impending punishment. For, if it had been fated that this city should be betrayed, those who now accuse us would alone have ventured upon the deed : inasmuch as treason is the only crime want-

ing to fill up the measure of their guilt. And now, Idumæans, since you are here in arms, it is your duty, and a most righteous one, to succour the metropolis, and unite with us in cutting off these tyrants, who have set at nought our tribunals, trampled on our laws, and passed sentence with their swords. Men of illustrious rank they have dragged from the public market-place, throwing them disgracefully into chains, without any accusation alleged against them; and, regarding neither their cries nor supplications, delivered them to death. You are at liberty to enter the city, but not by right of war, and witness the proofs of what we state:—houses laid desolate by their rapine, widows and orphans of the murdered clothed in mourning, and wailing and lamentation throughout the whole city; for there is no one who has not tasted their unhallowed violence. To such an extreme of insanity have they arrived, as not only to transfer their brigand daring from the country and remote towns to the head and face of the nation at large, but even from the city to the temple. Accordingly, that is now converted into a rallying-point and retreat for them, and has become the magazine of their preparations against us. That place, revered by the world, and honoured from the ends of the earth by aliens, to whom it is known only by report, is trampled under foot by wild beasts, generated on the spot.

“And they exult in a state of things which has now become thus desperate:—communities arrayed against communities, cities against cities, and the nation itself marshalling an army against its own bowels. Instead of aiding such a cause, surely it were most honourable and becoming in you to unite with us, as I have said, in destroying these monsters, and chastising them for their deceit in daring to summon as allies those whom they should have feared as avengers. Still, if you respect the invitation of such men, you have it in your option to lay aside your arms, and, entering the city in the character of relations, to assume an intermediate name between allies and enemies, and constitute yourselves judges. Consider, too, what advantage will be theirs; tried by you for notorious and serious offences, while they did not allow even the unimpeached to utter a word in their defence. This benefit, however, let them enjoy from your arrival.

“If, notwithstanding, you will neither share our indignation, nor yet become umpires in the dispute, a third course is open to you, namely, to leave both parties to themselves, and neither insult our calamities, nor coalesce with these conspirators against the capital. For, if you strongly suspect some of us of being in communication with the Romans, it is in your power to watch the outlets; and,

should any of the misdeeds imputed to us be discovered, you can then come and protect the metropolis, and punish those convicted of crime. Stationed as you are so close to the city, none of the enemy can take you by surprise. If, however, nothing I have proposed seem to you reasonable or moderate, do not marvel that our gates remain closed, so long as you maintain a warlike attitude."

4. Such was Joshua's address. The Idumæans, however, paid no attention to it, but were the rather irritated at not obtaining instant admission. The generals, too, were indignant at the suggestion that they should lay down their arms; deeming it the act of a captive to do so at the bidding of any one. Simon, son of Cathlas, one of their leaders, having with much difficulty allayed the ferment among his men, and standing within hearing of the chief priests, replied:—

"I am no longer surprised that the champions of liberty are in durance in the temple, since there are men who close our common city against their own nation, and are preparing, withal, their gates peradventure crowned with garlands, to admit the Romans; while they confer with the Idumæans from their towers, and enjoin them to throw away those weapons which they have taken up in defence of freedom. Refusing to entrust the protection of the capital to their kindred, they would yet appoint them umpires in their disputes; and, whilst they accuse some of having put their fellow-citizens to death uncondemned, adjudge the whole nation to be treated with ignominy. At least ye have a city, wont to be opened for religious worship even to foreigners, barricaded against your own people; because, forsooth, we were hastening to the slaughter, and to war against our own countrymen!—we who are hurrying to preserve you in freedom, hapless beings as you are. Doubtless you have been aggrieved in like manner by those whom you keep in ward; and equally credible, I presume, is your catalogue of insinuations against them. If so, how comes it that, detaining under guard as many of those within the city as are interested for the public welfare, and closing its gates against the collective body of a kindred people, and issuing such insulting mandates, you say that you are oppressed by tyrants, and attach the stigma of despotism to those who are groaning under your own tyranny? Who can tolerate this delusion in words, which he perceives to be utterly at variance with the facts? Unless, indeed, it be that even now the Idumæans, whom you debar from their holy national rites, are rather excluding you from the metropolis? It were a more just ground of complaint against those blockaded in the temple, that, while they had the courage to punish those traitors whom you call men of eminence, and whom, as partakers in

their crimes, you pronounce free from imputation, they did not begin with yourselves, and thus cut away in the outset the main promoters of treason. If, however, they have evinced a greater degree of lenity than the juncture demanded, let us Idumæans stand by the house of God, and, drawing our swords in behalf of our common country, defend it alike from the assaults of enemies without, and from the machinations of traitors within. Here before these walls will we remain in arms, until the Romans, weary of attending to your proposals, or a change of sentiments leads you to espouse the cause of freedom."

5. While this harangue was calling forth the acclamations of the Idumæans, Joshua withdrew in dejection, seeing them opposed to all moderate measures, and the city visited with war from two quarters. Nor were the minds of the Idumæans at rest; for, irritated at the insult offered them, in their exclusion from the city, and perceiving no aid at hand from the Zealot party, whom they supposed to be in considerable strength, they became perplexed, and many repented that they had come. But the shame of returning without having accomplished their purpose so far predominated over their regrets, that they maintained their position before the walls, where they bivouacked in miserable plight: for during the night a terrific storm arose; the winds blew with tempestuous violence, and the rain fell in torrents: the lightnings flashed without intermission, accompanied by fearful peals of thunder, and the quaking earth resounded with mighty bellowings. The universe, convulsed to its very base, appeared fraught with the destruction of mankind; and it was easy to conjecture that these were portents of no trivial calamity.

6. Among the Idumæans, and those in the city, the same opinion prevailed. The former were persuaded that God was angry at their expedition, and that they would not escape his judgments for bearing arms against the metropolis: while Ananus, and his party, imagined that they had triumphed without a contest, and that God was fighting in their defence. But they were mistaken in their conjectures as to the future, and the sufferings which they prognosticated against their enemies were destined to fall upon their friends. For the Idumæans, drawing their bodies together, kept each other warm; and, connecting their shields over their heads, suffered no material injury from the rain; while the Zealots, more concerned for their danger than for their own, met to consider what expedient could be devised for their relief. The more ardent advised that they should force the sentries, sword in hand; and, rushing boldly into the midst of the city, open the gates to their allies: the guards,

thrown into disorder by their unexpected sally, would give way, and the more readily, as the greater part were unarmed, and inexperienced in war; while it would be difficult to collect the citizens in force, confined as they were to their houses by the storm. And even should there be any danger, it became them to undergo every possible suffering, rather than leave so vast a multitude to perish disgracefully on their account.

Of these violent measures, however, the more judicious disapproved, seeing not only the full complement of men on guard around them, but the walls of the city carefully watched, on account of the Idumæans. They concluded, also, that Ananus would be everywhere present, examining the posts at all hours. And this had, in fact, been his practice on other nights; though on this the duty was omitted, not from any supineness on his part, but by the overruling appointment of Fate, that he himself might perish, and the whole of the guards. As the night advanced, and the storm was reaching its height, it lulled to sleep the sentinels in the colonnade; at the same time suggesting to the Zealots the thought of taking the saws belonging to the temple, and severing the bars of the gates. The violence of the wind, and the successive peals of thunder, aided their purpose, and prevented the noise from being heard.

7. Withdrawing secretly from the temple, they reached the walls, and, employing their saws, opened the gate nearest to the Idumæans. They, supposing themselves attacked by Ananus and his party, were at first seized with alarm, and every man had his hand on his sword for defence, but, quickly recognising their visitors, they entered with them. Had they turned immediately upon the city, so ungovernable was their rage, that nothing could have prevented the utter destruction of the people: but they hastened first to liberate the Zealots from custody, at the earnest solicitation of those who had introduced them. They besought them not to neglect those for whose sake they had come, surrounded as they were with difficulties, nor involve them in yet more serious danger. Were the guards mastered, it would be easy to advance against the city; whereas, should they make their first movement in that direction, they could not afterwards overpower the sentries; for, at the first intimation, they would form their ranks, and close the approaches.

CHAPTER V.

1. IN compliance with these representations, the Idumæans marched up through the city to the temple, the Zealots, meantime, awaiting their arrival in a state of anxious suspense. As they were entering, the latter, taking courage, advanced from the inner court of the temple, and, mixing with the Idumæans, attacked the sentries. Some of them who lay in front they killed in their sleep, till the whole multitude, roused by the cries of those who were awake, snatched up their arms in consternation, and hastened to the defence. So long as they supposed themselves assailed only by the Zealots, they fought with spirit, hoping to overpower them by numbers, but, perceiving others pouring in from without, they became aware of the irruption of the Idumæans. The greater portion threw away at once their courage and their arms, and abandoned themselves to lamentations. A few of the younger, however, fencing themselves in, gallantly received the Idumæans, and, for a considerable time, protected the feebler multitude. These, by their cries, indicated their calamities to those in the city, but no one ventured to their assistance, when it was known that the Idumæans had fallen upon them; on the contrary, they loudly echoed back the cries and lamentations. A frightful shrieking of women arose, and each individual of the guards became alive to his own personal danger. The Zealots joined in the battle-cry of the Idumæans, and the shouting on all sides was rendered still more fearful by the howling of the storm.

The Idumæans gave no quarter. Naturally of a most cruel and sanguinary disposition, and, moreover, irritated by the tempest, they directed their weapons against those who had shut them out, treating alike both the suppliants and the resisting; and, in many instances, piercing with their swords those who were reminding them of their relationship, and imploring them to respect their common temple. No room for flight remained, nor hope of safety; but, crushed together, they were cut down one upon another, and the greater part, driven forward—for there was no spot to which they could retreat, while their murderers were rushing upon them—precipitated themselves, in their perplexity, headlong into the city, consigning themselves to a fate more miserable, as it seems to me, than that from which they fled. The outer court of the temple was inundated with blood, and the day dawned upon eight thousand five hundred dead.

2. The rage of the Idumæans being still unsatiated, they turned to the city, pillaging every house, and killing all who fell in their way; but, thinking their time wasted upon the rest of the multitude, they searched for the chief priests, the greater part joining in the pursuit; and they were no sooner taken than slain. Standing over their dead bodies, they reviled Ananus for his benevolence to the people, and Joshua for his address from the ramparts; and to such an excess of impiety did they proceed, that they cast them out unburied, though the Jews are so attentive to the rites of sepulture, as to take down even those who have undergone the sentence of crucifixion, and inter them before sunset. I should not be wrong in saying, that with the death of Ananus began the capture of the city, and that from that very day on which the Jews beheld their high priest, and the guardian of their safety, murdered in the midst of Jerusalem, its bulwarks were laid low, and the Jewish state overthrown.

In every respect Ananus was a man much to be revered. In integrity he was surpassed by none; and, though distinguished by birth, station, and the honours which he had acquired, he delighted in placing himself on a level with the humblest. Unbounded in his love of liberty, and an admirer of democracy, he ever preferred the public weal to his private interests. To maintain peace was his leading object; persuaded that the Roman power was irresistible, and foreseeing that in a war with them, unless matters should be skilfully accommodated, the Jews would be involved in inevitable ruin. In a word, had Ananus survived, such an accommodation would have been effected; for he was powerful in his appeals, and successful in gaining over the people to his views, and, if he had been spared to control those who thwarted him, or carried on the war, the Jews, under such a leader, would have greatly retarded the triumph of the Romans. With him, too, had been associated Joshua, who, though comparatively inferior to him, was superior to the others. And I am of opinion that God, having doomed the city, as polluted, to destruction, and wishing to purify the sanctuary with fire, cut off these their defenders, who so affectionately loved them. Those who but lately had been clothed with the sacred vestments, had presided over the worship emblematic of the mundane system, and been regarded with reverence by all who, from every quarter of the globe, visited the city, were seen cast out naked, to become the food of dogs and beasts of prey. Virtue herself, as I think, groaned over the fate of these men, lamenting that she should have been so completely overcome by wickedness. Such, however, was the end of Ananus and Joshua.

3. When these were dispatched, the Zealots and Idumæans

attacked and butchered the people, as if they had been a herd of unclean beasts. Those of the humbler classes they destroyed on the spot where they were taken; but those of noble birth, and the young, were on their arrest fettered, and thrown into prison, their execution being delayed in the hope that some of them would go over to their party. Not one, however, listened to their proposals, all preferring to die rather than array themselves with the wicked against their country. But dreadful were the sufferings they endured on account of this refusal. They were scourged and racked, and when their bodies could no longer sustain these tortures, they were reluctantly given over to the sword. Those apprehended by day were dispatched at night, and their bodies thrown out to make room for fresh prisoners. Such was the consternation of the people that no one dared openly to weep for, or even to bury, a deceased relative; but, shut up in their houses, they wept in secret, and groaned with circumspection, lest any of their enemies should overhear their lamentations. The mourner forthwith equally suffered with the mourned. By night, indeed, taking up a little dust in their hands, they cast it on the bodies, and some of the more venturesome did so by day. Twelve thousand youths, of noble birth, were thus consigned to destruction.

4. The Zealots, now satiated with slaughter, even to loathing, shamelessly set up mock tribunals, and courts of justice. Purposing to kill Zacharias, son of Baruch, one of the most eminent of the citizens, they summoned in due form seventy of the leading men of the people, in the character of judges, but destitute of their authority. His extreme hatred of evil, and love of liberty, had excited their peculiar aversion, and his possessions, moreover, being ample, they hoped not only to enjoy the plunder of his property, but to get rid of a powerful and dangerous adversary. They accordingly accused him of a design to betray the state to the Romans, and of maintaining a treasonable correspondence with Vespasian. In support of this allegation no proof, either positive or presumptive, was adduced; but they declared that they were themselves fully persuaded of its truth, and this they demanded to be received as establishing the fact.

Zacharias, however, conscious that no hope of safety was left him, as they had treacherously summoned him to a prison, not to trial, did not allow despair of life to deprive him of liberty of speech; but, rising from his seat, ridiculed the likelihood of the accusation, and in few words refuted the charges brought against him. He then addressed himself to his accusers, went over their various enormities in order, and deeply lamented the confusion of public affairs. The Zealots now became outrageous, with difficulty withheld their

swords, though anxious to play out the farce of a tribunal to the close, and desirous, also, to test the judges, whether, disregarding their own peril, they would be mindful of justice. The seventy, preferring rather to die with the accused, than to bear the imputation of being parties to his destruction, brought in a verdict of acquittal. On hearing the sentence, a clamour arose among the Zealots, who were all indignant at the judges for not understanding that their authority had been confided to them in mere mockery. Two of the most daring of them, however, attacking Zacharias, slew him in the midst of the temple, and, thus addressing him in derision as he fell—"You have now our verdict also, and a more effective acquittal"—forthwith threw him headlong from the temple into the ravine below. They then assailed the judges, and, striking them insultingly with the backs of their swords, drove them from the court, sparing their lives for this sole reason that, being dispersed through the city, they might proclaim to all the vassalage to which they were reduced.

5. The Idumæans, dissatisfied with these proceedings, now began to regret their presence among them. An individual attached to the Zealot party came to them privately, and, convening them for the purpose, pointed out to them the lawless acts of those who had invited them, and set forth in detail the injuries inflicted on the capital. "They had armed, forsooth, as if the chief priests were betraying the metropolis to the Romans; but they had discovered no evidence of treason; whereas they who professed to be its defenders, were themselves the daring perpetrators of deeds of war and despotism. It would have been well to prevent these occurrences in the outset, but, since they had once associated with them in shedding the blood of their countrymen, it was now at least incumbent on them to put a stop to these atrocities, and no longer continue to strengthen the hands of men who were subverting the national institutions. If any had been offended at the gates being closed, and entrance denied to them, those who excluded them had been punished. Ananus was dead; and in one night almost the whole of the populace had been swept away.

"That many of their own party now repented of the step they had taken, it was not difficult to discern; and they perceived how unmeasured was the cruelty of those who had invited them, and who showed no respect for their deliverers. They had dared to commit the vilest atrocities under the very eyes of their confederates; and their iniquities would be charged on the Idumæans, so long as they adopted no measures of prevention, nor withdrew from the perpetrators. Since, then, the story of the treason appeared to

be a calumny, and no inroad of the Romans was expected, and as a despotism not easily to be subverted was established in the city, they ought to return home, and, by breaking off all connexion with these bad men, offer some atonement for the injuries, into a participation in which they had been entrapped."

CHAPTER VI.

1. INDUCED by these arguments, the Idumæans returned home from Jerusalem, having first liberated the citizens confined in the prisons, in number about two thousand, who immediately fled from the city to Simon, of whom we shall speak presently. On both factions, as it happened, their departure had an unlooked-for effect. The people, ignorant of their repentance, and supposing themselves relieved from enemies, resumed a momentary confidence. The Zealots, on the other hand, rather increased in audacity: not as being deserted by allies, but freed from those who discountenanced and repressed their lawless violence. They accordingly proceeded in their iniquitous courses without delay or deliberation, and with the utmost rapidity devised, and quicker than thought executed their projects. But they thirsted chiefly for the blood of the brave and noble. The latter they murdered from envy; the former through fear: for they surmised that their own safety depended on leaving none of those in authority alive. Hence they put to death, together with many others, Gorion, a person exalted both by station and birth, democratical in his principles, and deeply imbued with a love of freedom, if ever Jew was so. His boldness of speech, added to his other excellences, was the chief cause of his ruin. Nor did Niger of Peræa escape their hands; a man particularly distinguished in the conflicts with the Romans. He was dragged through the midst of the city, frequently calling aloud, and exposing his scars. When brought without the gates, despairing of life, he besought them for the rites of sepulture: but, fiercely declaring that they would not grant him the grave of which he was so desirous, they completed the murder. He died, imprecating on their heads the vengeance of the Romans, and famine and pestilence in addition to war, and moreover, that the hands of each should be raised against the others. All these curses on the wretches did God most justly ratify, inasmuch as they were doomed ere long to feel in their dissensions the effects of each

others' frenzy. Niger's removal relieved them from apprehensions as to the dissolution of their power. There was, however, no class of the people for whose destruction a pretext was not devised. Those with whom any of them had formerly been at variance were put to death: and against those who had given them no umbrage in time of peace, charges suitable to the occasion were invented. The man who held no intercourse with them was suspected of pride; he who approached with freedom, of treating them with contempt; he who courted them, of treachery. The same punishment awaited the most trivial, as well as the greatest allegations—death; and none escaped, but those whose safety lay in the utter meanness of their birth or fortune.

2. The Roman generals, looking on the dissensions of their enemies as a godsend, were anxious to march against Jerusalem, and urged the point on Vespasian, who was now lord supreme; observing, "that Divine providence was their ally, in that their enemies were turning one against the other. There might, however, be some sudden change, and the Jews, either wearied with these intestine broils, or repenting of their crimes, might quickly return to unanimity." To these remarks Vespasian replied, that "they greatly erred in their views of what ought to be done, and were anxious to make a theatrical, though dangerous, display of their prowess and their arms, without due regard to their advantage and safety. For, should they immediately attack the city, the effect would be to reunite their opponents, and induce them to turn their forces in full strength against them: whereas, by waiting awhile, they would have fewer to contend with, as many would be consumed in the sedition. God was a better general than he, and was delivering up the Jews to the Romans without any exertion on their part, and granting the army a dangerless victory. While, therefore, their adversaries were perishing by their own hands, and labouring under that greatest of evils—sedition, they should rather remain quiet spectators of their peril, than combat with men who courted death, and were infuriated against each other.

"But should any one think that the glory of a victory obtained without a contest loses its zest, let him know that success obtained by quiet measures is preferable to the uncertainty of arms. For not less illustrious should we deem those who have triumphed by self-control and sagacity, than those who win distinction in the field. Moreover, while the enemy were diminishing their numbers, he would fain recruit the strength of his army, and invigorate it after its continued toils. Neither was this the fitting moment for those who were

aspiring to the honours of a splendid victory : for the Jews were not employed in preparing arms, erecting fortifications, or enlisting auxiliaries, in which case delay would tell against those who permitted it; but, exhausted by civil war and dissension, they were suffering greater miseries from day to day than their assailants could inflict upon those who fell into their hands. Influenced, then, by a regard to their own safety, the Romans should allow them to proceed in the work of self-destruction; or, if they looked to the glory of success, they ought not to attack those who were labouring under domestic troubles. For it would be said, and with reason, that they owed their triumph to the sedition, not to their arms."

3. In these observations of Vespasian the officers concurred; and the policy of his views soon became apparent. Many deserted daily to escape the Zealots, though flight was difficult; for all the outlets were guarded, and every one caught in them, on whatever pretext, was instantly put to death, as though he were going over to the Romans. He, however, who bought exemption was permitted to go free, and he only who gave nothing was a traitor. Hence it followed, that, as the rich purchased escape, the poor alone were slaughtered. Along all the roads the dead were piled in heaps; and many, who had been eager to desert, chose ultimately to perish within the walls: for the hope of interment made death in their native city appear more tolerable. To such an excess of cruelty did the Zealots at length proceed, as to grant burial neither to those slain within the city, nor on the roads; but, as if they had entered into a compact to dissolve, together with the laws of their country, the rights of nature, and to combine their injustice towards men with pollution of the Deity himself, they left the dead putrefying in the sun.

To those who interred a relative, as well as to deserters, the punishment was death; and he who gave burial to another stood instantly in need of it himself. In a word, no virtuous emotion was so utterly lost amidst these calamities, as pity. For what should have melted, only exasperated these monsters; as from the living to the slain, and from the dead to the living, their fury alternated. And so dreadful was the terror that prevailed, that the survivor deemed them blessed who had already perished, and were consequently at rest; while those under torture in the prisons pronounced the unburied happy in comparison with themselves. Every human ordinance was trampled under foot; every Divine injunction laughed at; and they scoffed at the oracles of the prophets as the fables of mountebanks. And yet did these in their predictions speak much of virtue and of vice, by contravening which the Zealots brought down on their country the

fulfilment of their prophetic denunciations. For there was an ancient tradition among men that "then would the city be taken, and the sanctuary burned to the ground, by right of war, when a sedition should burst forth, in which native hands should defile God's hallowed precincts." These predictions the Zealots did not disbelieve; yet did they lend themselves as instruments of their accomplishment.

CHAPTER VII.

1. JOHN, already affecting supreme power, disdained to accept the honours paid to his equals, and, gradually gathering round him a party of the more abandoned, haughtily withdrew from the coalition. Refusing obedience, on all occasions, to the resolves of his associates, and imperiously asserting his own, he was evidently aspiring to despotic rule. Some yielded to him through fear, others from affection; for he well knew how to employ deceit and artifice in conciliating regard; and not a few there were who thought it for their safety, that the blame of their daring deeds should be ascribed to one rather than to many. His energy both of body and mind, moreover, attracted numerous adherents. A large section, however, of the opposing faction, with whom envy predominated, deserted him, ill-brooking subjection to their former equal: but the greater part were influenced by dread of monarchical sway. For, once possessed of supreme power, they could not hope easily to subvert his authority; and he would have a pretext against themselves in their opposition to his advancement. Each therefore preferred enduring any suffering, attendant on war, rather than, in a voluntary servitude, to perish as slaves.

From these causes the sedition split into two factions; and John, despite his adversaries, ruled with sovereign power. On either side every post was strictly guarded; though they seldom, if ever, appealed to the sword. They assailed the populace, however, and vied with each other in carrying off the larger booty. But, while the city was thus agitated by the three greatest of evils, war, tyranny, and sedition, in the eyes of the populace war was comparatively the mildest. Accordingly, fleeing from their countrymen, they took refuge with aliens, and solicited from Romans that safety which they despaired of among their own kindred.



2. But, to consummate its ruin, a fourth misfortune was now inflicted upon the nation. Not far from Jerusalem was a fortress of very great strength called Masada, erected by our ancient kings as a repository for their wealth during the vicissitudes of war, and as a place of safety for their persons. Of this the Sikars, as they were called, had taken possession some time before; and had hitherto confined themselves to marauding expeditions through the adjacent districts, with the sole design of procuring supplies; for they were restrained by fear from further pillage: but, when they heard that the Roman army was lying inactive, and that in Jerusalem the Jews were distracted by sedition and private tyranny, they essayed more daring enterprises. Accordingly, at the feast of unleavened bread—which the Jews celebrate in commemoration of their exodus from Egyptian bondage, when allowed to depart for their paternal land—they came down by night, undiscovered by any who might have obstructed their progress, and attacked a small town called Engaddi.

Those of its inhabitants who might have offered resistance, were dispersed and driven out of the town before they could seize their arms and assemble; and those unable to fly, women and children, amounting to upwards of seven hundred, were put to the sword. They then rifled the houses, and, seizing upon the ripened crops, carried them off to Masada. They moreover plundered all the villages around the fortress, and laid waste the whole country; while multitudes of dissolute characters flocked to them daily from every quarter. The other districts of Judæa also now began to be thrown into disorder by predatory bands, which had hitherto remained quiet. As in the body, when the nobler parts are in a state of inflammation, all the members participate in the disorder, so, from the sedition and disturbance in the capital, the ill-disposed in the country fearlessly availed themselves of the opportunity for rapine; and, after severally destroying their native villages, each party retired into the desert. Having assembled in considerable force—too few, indeed, for an army, but too many for a mere band of freebooters—they bound themselves by oath, and separated into parties, assailing temples and cities. It occasionally happened, however, that they were roughly handled, when those whom they attacked were prepared, as in war, to receive them; but they anticipated the necessity of defence by decamping as robbers with their prey. There was, in fact, no part of Judæa that did not share in the ruin of the capital.

3. With these occurrences Vespasian was made acquainted by the deserters. For, although the insurgents guarded every outlet, and slew all that approached them, there were some, notwithstanding

who eluded their vigilance, and, fleeing to the Romans, urged the general to succour the city, and rescue the remnant of its inhabitants: for, owing to their friendly disposition towards the Romans, many had been slain, and the survivors were in peril. Vespasian, who already pitied their calamities, broke up his encampment, apparently with the design of investing Jerusalem, but, in reality, to deliver it from siege. It was necessary previously to reduce what remained in his way, that no external impediment might interfere with his operations.

Accordingly, he marched on Gadara, the capital of Peræa, a place of some strength, which he entered on the fourth of the month Dystrus; for many of the residents were wealthy, and the leading men, influenced by a desire of peace, and a regard for their property, had, without the knowledge of the insurgents, sent a deputation to him on the subject of a surrender. Of this procedure the opposite party were ignorant, until they discovered it by the approach of Vespasian. Despairing of being able to retain the city, from their inferiority in point of numbers to their opponents within the walls, and seeing the Romans at a short distance from the city, they determined upon flight, but not without shedding blood, and exacting punishment from those who were the causes of the measure. With this view, they seized Dolesus, who was not only the first in station and family in the town, but was moreover looked upon as the originator of the deputation; and having put him to death, and through excess of rage mangled his body, they fled from the city. The Roman army being now at hand, the Gadarenes welcomed Vespasian with acclamations, and received from him a pledge of protection, together with a garrison of horse and foot, to secure them against the attacks of the fugitives; for they had demolished their fortifications without instructions from the Romans, in order that their want of power to make war, even if they wished, might be a guarantee for their love of peace.

4. Vespasian now detached Placidus, with five hundred horse, and three thousand foot, against those who had fled from Gadara, while he himself, with the remainder of his army, returned to Cæsarea. As soon as the fugitives discovered that they were closely pursued by the cavalry, before they came to an engagement, they shut themselves up in a village, called Bethennabrin. Here they found no small number of young men, and, arming some with their own consent, and some by force, they rushed at random upon the troops of Placidus. The Romans fell back a little on the first onset, artfully designing to entice them to a greater distance from the ramparts; and, having drawn them to a suitable spot, they rode round them and shot at



LOWER NEAR JERICHO.

them with darts. Those who fled the cavalry intercepted, while the infantry made easy havoc of the entangled masses. After making a mere show of resistance, the Jews were cut to pieces; for, attacking the serried ranks of the Romans, walled in, as it were, by their armour, they found no play for their missiles, nor could they by any effort break the lines. They were accordingly transfixed by the weapons of their opponents, rushing like wild beasts upon the swords directed at them. Thus they perished, some struck down face to face with the enemy, others in disordered flight before the cavalry.

5. Placidus, careful to intercept their retreat to the village, kept his horse in constant motion on that quarter; then, turning upon them and employing his missiles, he slew those who came near him with a steady aim; while those at a greater distance were driven back by terror, until the most courageous, forcibly cutting a way through their foes, fled toward the ramparts. The sentries were in doubt what they should do; for they could not endure to shut out the Gadarenes, on account of their own townsmen; and if they admitted them, they expected to share in their destruction. And such, indeed, was the result; for as they were crushed together at the wall, the Roman cavalry were within a little of entering with them; but, the guards having succeeded in shutting the gates, Placidus attacked the town, and, continuing the assault with vigour until evening, became master of the ramparts, and of those within the village. The helpless were slaughtered in multitudes, and, those who were more able having fled, the troops rifled the houses, and reduced the village to ashes.

The fugitives, meanwhile, created great excitement through the country, and by exaggerating their calamities, and stating that the Roman army was advancing in full force, inspired terror on all sides. Accordingly, the whole population fled to Jericho, where, from the strength of its defences, and from its numerous inhabitants, they cherished a last hope of safety. Placidus, relying upon his cavalry, and encouraged by his former successes, pursued them as far as the Jordan, putting all, as he overtook them, to the sword. Having driven the whole multitude to the river, where they were stopped by the stream, which, swollen by the rains, was no longer fordable, he drew up his forces in line opposite to them. Necessity goaded them to battle, as no room for flight was left: and extending themselves as much as possible along the banks, they received the missiles and the charges of the cavalry; whereby many were wounded and driven into the current. Fifteen thousand fell by the hands of the enemy, while the number of those who were reluctantly compelled to throw themselves into the Jordan was incalculable. About two thousand two

hundred were captured, together with an immense booty of asses and sheep, camels and oxen.

6. Although inferior to none which the Jews had yet sustained, this discomfiture was even greater in appearance than reality ; for not only was the whole country through which their flight had lain strewed with carnage, and the Jordan rendered impassable by reason of the dead, but the lake Asphaltitis, also, was filled with bodies, of which vast numbers had been carried down into it by the river. Placidus, following up his good fortune, hastened to attack the smaller towns and villages around ; and making himself master of Abila, Julias, Besimoth, and all as far as the lake Asphaltitis, he located in each a convenient body of the deserters ; then, embarking his troops in light vessels, he destroyed those who had taken refuge on the lake. And thus the whole of Peræa, as far as Machærus, either surrendered, or was reduced.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. MEANWHILE, tidings arrived of the disturbances which had broken out in Gaul, and that Vindex, with the chiefs in that country, had revolted from Nero, of which more detailed accounts have been elsewhere furnished. Vespasian, who already foresaw the civil dissensions which threatened to break out, and the danger to the empire at large, and was persuaded that, under these circumstances, it would relieve the apprehensions of Italy, if affairs were once settled in the East, was further stimulated by this intelligence to prosecute the war with vigour. Accordingly, having employed himself, while the winter lasted, in securing with garrisons the villages and smaller towns which he had reduced, confiding the former to decurions, the latter to centurions, and having, also, rebuilt many places which had been destroyed, he moved in the beginning of spring, with the greater part of his army, from Cæsarea to Antipatris. After two days spent in establishing order in the town, on the third he advanced, wasting all the places around with fire and sword. Having reduced the territory of Thamna, he marched on Lydda and Jamnia ; and both of them having been before subdued, he located in them a competent number of residents out of those who had surrendered, and pursued his route to Ammaus. Having seized on their approaches to the metropolis, he fortified a camp, and leaving the fifth legion in the town, moved forward with his remaining force to the territory of Bethleptepha. Having devastated with fire this and the neighbouring



VIEW FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES:

LOOKING EAST.

district, together with the parts of Idumæa round about, he fortified castles in convenient situations ; and having taken two villages in the very heart of Idumæa—Betaris and Caphartoba, he put above ten thousand of the inhabitants to the sword, and enslaved upwards of a thousand ; and then driving out the remainder, stationed there a large division of his own troops, who overran and laid waste the whole of the mountainous district. He then returned with the rest of his army to Ammaus, and thence, through Samaria, and by Neapolis, called Mabortha by the people of the country, he descended to Corea, where he encamped on the second day of the month Dæsius. On the day following, he reached Jericho, where he was joined by Trajan, one of his generals, with the force he had brought from Peræa, all beyond the Jordan being now reduced.

2. Anticipating their arrival, the mass of the population had made their escape from Jericho into the mountainous range which lies over against Jerusalem, though a considerable number remained behind, who were put to the sword. The Romans, in consequence, found the city deserted. Jericho is seated in a plain, but hanging over it is a naked and barren mountain of great length, extending northward to the territory of Scythopolis, and towards the south as far as the region of Sodom, and the extremities of the lake Asphaltitis. It is rugged throughout, and by reason of its sterility uninhabitable. Opposite to this, in the vicinity of the Jordan, runs a second chain of mountains, which, beginning at Julias on the north, stretches parallel to the former in a southern direction, as far as Somorrha, which borders upon Petra in Arabia. In this ridge is also the Iron Mountain, as it is called, which stretches to the region of Moab. The country included within these two ranges of hills is called the Great Plain, and reaches from the village of Ginnabrin to the lake Asphaltitis. Its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth a hundred and twenty. It is intersected by the Jordan, and embraces the lake Asphaltitis, and that of Tiberias. These lakes differ in their nature ; the former being salt and unfavourable to life, the latter sweet and prolific. In the summer season this plain is burnt up, and through the excessive drought the surrounding atmosphere becomes unwholesome ; for it is throughout destitute of water, if we except the Jordan ; and hence, also, it happens that the palm-groves on the banks of that river are more flourishing and productive than those at a distance.

3. In the immediate vicinity of Jericho, however, is a copious spring of great virtue in irrigation. It bursts forth near the ancient town, the first in the land of the Canaanites which yielded to the arms of Joshua, the son of Nun, general of the Hebrews.

A tradition prevails, that this fountain originally blighted not only the fruits of the earth and of trees, but the offspring of women also; and that to everything without exception it was fraught with disease and death, until it was healed and rendered most salubrious and fertilizing by the prophet Elisha, disciple and successor of Elijah. Having been the guest of the people of Jericho, and entertained by them with extreme hospitality, he requited their kindness by conferring a lasting favour on them and their country. Repairing to the fountain, he threw into the current an earthen vessel filled with salt, and then lifting up his hand aright to heaven, as he poured a soothing libation into the spring, he prayed that the fountain might soften its current, and open sweeter veins; and that God would blend with its waters more genial airs, granting the inhabitants withal an abundance of fruits, and a succession of children, with a never-failing supply of water conducive to their production, so long as they continued upright. By these supplications, offered up after the performance of many ceremonies according to ritual, he changed the properties of the spring, and the water, which had before been to them a cause of barrenness and famine, became thenceforward a source of fecundity and teeming profusion. Such in fact are its powers of irrigation, that, if it but touch the earth, it is more salubrious than waters which remain to saturation. Wherefore also, while the benefit derived from other fountains is small though they make a more lavish use of them, the return from this small one is ample. Indeed it irrigates a more extensive tract than all the rest, flowing through a plain seventy furlongs in length and twenty in breadth, carrying fertility to many a delightful garden, and watering various species of palm, differing alike in flavour and in medicinal properties. Of these the richer descriptions, when pressed, emit a profusion of honey, scarcely inferior to the other, of which the district yields an ample supply. Here is also found the balm of Gilead, the most precious of all its productions; the cyprus likewise, and the myrobalanus; so that he would not err who should pronounce this a divine spot, wherein grows an abundance of the rarest and choicest plants. For as regards its other produce, there is scarcely a clime to be found throughout the habitable globe comparable to this, so manifold are the returns from the seed sown: a circumstance attributable, in my opinion, to the warmth of the air, and to the fertilizing properties of the water; the one calling forth and expanding the shoots, while the moisture roots the plant more firmly, and supplies the vitality which it has in summer, when the surrounding country is so parched up, as almost to prevent any one from going near it. The water if

drawn before sunrise, and then exposed to the air, becomes extremely cold, assuming a character the reverse of the surrounding atmosphere ; but in winter, on the other hand, it is tepid, and most genial for bathers. So mild moreover is the climate, that the inhabitants are dressed in linen, when the other parts of Judæa are covered with snow. It is distant from Jerusalem a hundred and fifty furlongs, and from the Jordan sixty. The country from thence to Jerusalem is desert and rocky ; to the Jordan and the lake Asphaltitis, it is lower indeed, but equally dreary and barren. Of Jericho, thus highly favoured, sufficient has been said.

4. The natural peculiarities of the lake Asphaltitis also merit attention. Its waters, as I have stated, are bitter and unfavourable to life ; but from their buoyancy they bear up even the heaviest substances thrown into them ; and it is difficult to dive to the bottom, even with an effort. With a view to ascertain this fact, Vespasian, on visiting the lake, ordered several persons who were unable to swim to be plunged in to the bottom with their hands tied behind them ; and the result was that all floated to the surface, as if impelled upwards by the agency of air. There occurs in it also a remarkable change of colour. Three times every day it alters its appearance, and throws back a varied reflection according to the inclination of the solar rays. It casts up, moreover, in many parts, black masses of bitumen, which float on its surface, resembling, both in size and figure, headless bulls. These the labourers of the lake approach, and catching hold of the lumps, draw them into their boats. When these are filled, however, it is by no means easy to divide the viscid matter, which from its tenacity clings to the boat, until it is dissolved by those particular animal secretions to which alone it yields. It is useful not only for caulking ships, but also for healing the human frame ; and it is accordingly an ingredient in various medicines.

This lake is in length five hundred and eighty furlongs, measured in a line which extends towards Zoar in Arabia, and in breadth one hundred and fifty. Adjacent to it is the land of Sodom, in ancient times a favoured district, renowned for its productions, and the wealth of its cities ; but now totally burnt up. It is said that, owing to the impiety of its inhabitants, it was consumed by lightning ; and accordingly vestiges of the divine fire, and some faint remains of five cities, are still discernible. There may be seen, also, ashes reproduced in the fruits, which from their appearance would be supposed edible ; but, on being plucked with the hand, they resolve into smoke and dust. Such credibility does the tradition respecting the land of Sodom derive from ocular evidence.

CHAPTER IX.

1. **VESPASIAN**, with a view to invest Jerusalem on all sides, formed encampments at Jericho and Adida, placing in each a garrison composed of Romans and auxiliaries. He moreover detached **Lucius Annius** to Gerasa, at the head of a squadron of horse and a large body of infantry. **Annius**, having carried the city on the first assault, put to the sword a thousand of the youth, who had not effected their escape, enslaved their families, and permitted his soldiers to plunder their property. He then set fire to their habitations, and advanced against the villages around. The vigorous fled; the more feeble perished; everything left behind was consigned to the flames; and the war, having now embraced the whole of the mountainous and champaign country, all egress from Jerusalem was prevented. For those who wished to desert were closely watched by the Zealots; while those who did not yet favour the Romans were kept in check by the army, which hemmed in the city on all sides.

2. While **Vespasian**, who had now returned to **Cæsarea**, was preparing to march in full force against Jerusalem itself, tidings reached him of the violent death of **Nero**, after a reign of thirteen years and eight days. To relate in what manner that prince wantonly abused his authority, committing the administration to the most profligate of men, **Nymphidius** and **Tigellinus**, the very refuse even of freed-men; and how, in the conspiracy they formed against him, he was abandoned by all his guards; of his flight with four of his faithful attendants to the suburbs, where he fell by his own hand; and of the punishment which ere long overtook those who had brought about his destruction—is no part of my present purpose. Nor yet is it my intention to enter into a detail of the war in Gaul, and its issue: of the elevation of **Galba** to the throne, and his consequent return to Rome from Spain: of the charge of meanness brought against him by the military, and of the death treacherously dealt to him in the midst of the Roman forum: of **Otho's** advancement to the imperial dignity: of his expedition against the generals of **Vitellius**, and his overthrow: of the commotions afterwards under **Vitellius**; of the battle in the capitol; and of the destruction of **Vitellius** and his German legions by **Antonius Primus** and **Mucianus**, and the consequent suppression of the civil war. Of all these events I have declined giving a circumstantial account, as they are generally known,

and have been described by various Greek and Roman authors. To keep up the connexion of events, however, and to avoid a chasm in my narrative, I have summarily noticed each.

Vespasian, therefore, for the present deferred his expedition against Jerusalem, waiting anxiously to see on whom the empire would devolve upon the death of Nero; and afterwards, when he learned that Galba was emperor, he would not advance until instructions had been forwarded from him also on the subject of the war. He despatched his son Titus, however, to salute him, and receive his commands in reference to the Jews. For the same purpose, king Agrippa likewise embarked with Titus; but while they were sailing round in long galleys through Achaia, (for it was the winter season,) Galba met a violent death after a reign of seven months and as many days; Otho succeeding to the throne, and assuming the reins of government. Agrippa, nothing deterred by the change, resolved on proceeding to Rome; while Titus, under a divine impulse, taking ship from Greece for Syria, repaired with haste to join his father at Cæsarea. Being thus in suspense as to affairs at large, as well they might be, when the Roman empire was in such a state of fluctuation, they disregarded the invasion of Judæa, deeming it unseasonable to attack a foreign country, while filled with apprehensions for their own.

3. Meanwhile another war broke out against Jerusalem, occasioned by one Simon, son of Gioras, a young man, a Gerasene by birth, less artful than John, who was now in possession of the city, but his superior in bodily strength and daring: qualities which had led Ananus the high priest to eject him from the territory of Acrabatene, which he once held. Thus expelled, he betook himself to the brigands who had seized on Masada. At first, regarded by them with suspicion, he was allowed, with the women who accompanied him, access only to the lower part of the fortress; they themselves occupying the upper. But subsequently, from congeniality of disposition, and from his being apparently a person in whom they could confide, he was permitted to accompany them in their marauding expeditions, and joined them in laying waste the country around Masada. He could not, however, prevail on them to attempt greater things; for, having become familiarized with the fortress, they were afraid to venture far from their den, so to speak; while he, aiming at despotic power, and cherishing lofty projects, on hearing of the death of Ananus, withdrew to the mountainous district; where, proclaiming freedom to slaves, and rewards to the free, he gathered the miscreants from all quarters around him.

4. Being now at the head of a strong force, he overran the villages

which lay in the mountain-district; and, as he gained continual accessions to his numbers, he was emboldened to descend into the low-lands. Becoming at length formidable to the towns, many men of rank, led away by his strength, and the free course of his successful enterprises, were so infatuated as to join him: and it was no longer an army of slaves only and brigands, but the loyal obedience, as to a king, of a large body of the people. He now overran the Acra-batene territory, and the country as far as the greater Idumæa. At a village called Nain, he threw up a wall, and used the place as a fortress for his security; and having found a great number of caves ready prepared, and enlarged many others, in the valley called Pharan, he employed them as repositories of treasures, and receptacles of plunder. There also he laid up the corn obtained by rapine, and the greater part of his troops took up their abode in them; and it was evident that he was disciplining his force, and making his preparations, for the purpose of attacking Jerusalem.

5. The Zealots, in consequence, alarmed at his design, and wishing to anticipate one who was gathering strength to their prejudice, went out with their main body under arms. Simon met them, and giving them battle, slew great numbers, and chased the remainder into the city. From a want of confidence in his troops, however, he was deterred from assailing the walls; and he purposed first to reduce Idumæa, towards the confines of which he now directed his march, at the head of twenty thousand armed men. The chiefs of the Idumæans, with all despatch, assembled from the country their most effective men, to the number of about twenty-five thousand, leaving the mass of the population to protect their property against the inroads of the Sikars of Masada, and met Simon at the frontiers.

Here he gave them battle; and after maintaining the action during the whole day, he left the field, neither conquering nor conquered. He then returned to Nain, and the Idumæans disbanded to their homes. Not long after, however, Simon returned with a larger force, and again broke into their country, and encamping at a village called Thecoa, despatched Elcazar, one of his associates, to the garrison of Herodium, which was not far distant, to persuade them to deliver up that fortress. The sentinels, ignorant of the object of his visit, admitted him without hesitation; but the moment he uttered a word about a surrender, they rushed on him with drawn swords, on which, finding escape impracticable, he threw himself from the ramparts into the ravine below, and was killed upon the spot. The Idumæans, now much alarmed at Simon's strength, deemed it advisable to reconnoitre his army before they hazarded an engagement.



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MOSQUE AT HEBRON

THE MOSQUE AT HEBRON

6. For this purpose, James, one of the generals, readily proffered his services, while, in his heart, he meditated treachery. He accordingly left Alurus, the village in which the Idumæan forces were at the time congregated, and repaired to Simon. He entered into a compact, first for the betrayal of his native place, on receiving, upon oath, an assurance that he should always hold a post of honour; and he then pledged himself to assist, likewise, in the subjugation of the whole of Idumæa. Being, in consequence, hospitably entertained by Simon, and buoyed up with magnificent promises, he, on returning to his own party, commenced by greatly exaggerating the numbers of the enemy; and then, by courteous attention to the officers, and to the soldiers in general, when assembled in groups, he instigated them to receive Simon, and to surrender to him, without a struggle, the entire management of affairs. While this was going forward, he sent a message to Simon, inviting him to advance, and promising to disperse the Idumæans—a promise which he fulfilled; for, on the approach of the army, he was the first to spring upon his horse and take to flight, followed by the dupes of his intrigues. The whole multitude were seized with a panic, and, before a blow was struck, deserted their ranks, and retired severally to their homes.

7. Simon, having thus, beyond expectation, penetrated into Idumæa without bloodshed, first of all, by a sudden attack, made himself master of the city of Hebron, where he possessed himself of a vast booty, exclusive of the large supplies of corn which he seized. If we are to credit the inhabitants, Hebron is not only a town of greater antiquity than any in that country, but even than Memphis in Egypt, its years being computed at two thousand three hundred. They relate that Abram, the progenitor of the Jews, here fixed his abode after his departure from Mesopotamia, and that from hence his posterity went down into Egypt. Their monuments are still shown in that town, of the most beautiful marble, and of exquisite workmanship. At the distance of six furlongs, is pointed out an immense turpentine-tree, which, if tradition is to be believed, has continued there from the creation until the present time.

Advancing from this point, Simon marched through the whole of Idumæa, ravaging not only the towns and villages, but also laying waste the entire country; for, exclusive of his regular forces, he had forty thousand followers, so that his supplies were insufficient for such a multitude. Besides his wants, his cruelty, also, and his spleen against the nation, led him to visit Idumæa with the greater devastation. As the woods in the track of the locusts may be seen utterly despoiled of their foliage, so in the rear of Simon's army there

remained nothing but a desert. Some of the places they burned; others they rased to the ground; and every vegetable production throughout the country totally disappeared, being either trampled down or eaten; and their march rendered the arable harder than the barren ground. In a word, of all thus destroyed, not even a trace was left of its ever having existed.

8. These occurrences stimulated the Zealots afresh; and though afraid to meet Simon in open warfare, they placed ambushes in the passes, and captured his wife, with a numerous retinue of attendants; on which, as if Simon himself had been made prisoner, they returned exulting to the city, in the full expectation that he would lay down his arms without any more ado, and become a suppliant for his consort. Her seizure, however, roused not his sensibility, but his indignation; and, advancing to the walls of Jerusalem, like a wild beast wounded, and unable to avenge himself on his assailants, he vented his fury on all he met with.

Accordingly, as many as ventured outside the gates for herbs or fuel, unarmed and old, he seized, tortured, and put to death, scarcely refraining, in the excess of his rage, from even gnawing their dead bodies. Many of them, moreover, he sent into the city with their hands cut off, with the design at once of striking terror into his foes, and of exciting the people to rise against the authors of these sufferings. He enjoined them, likewise, to say that Simon swore by God, who presides over all, that, unless they restored his wife to him without delay, he would break down the wall, and inflict similar punishment on every soul within it, sparing neither young nor old, nor distinguishing the guilty from the innocent. These menaces so terrified, not only the people, but even the Zealots, that they sent his wife back to him; when, somewhat soothed, he paused in his career of slaughter.

9. Not alone, however, in Judæa did sedition and civil war prevail, but also in Italy; for Galba had been murdered in the middle of the Roman forum, and Otho, being proclaimed emperor, was engaged in a war against Vitellius, who now aspired to the throne, having been chosen by the legions in Germany. He gave battle at Bedriacum, in [Cisalpine] Gaul, to Valens and Cæcinna, the generals of Vitellius. On the first day Otho had the advantage; on the second, the troops of Vitellius. The slaughter being great, Otho, on hearing at Brixellum of the defeat, put an end to his own existence, after having administered the government three months and two days. His army went over to the generals of Vitellius, who was now marching on Rome in person, with his entire force.



POOL AT HEBRON.

Vespasian, meantime, having broken up from Cæsarea on the fifth of the month Dæsius, advanced against those places in Judæa which had not yet submitted to his arms. Ascending into the mountainous district, he subdued two provinces, called the Gophnitic, and the Acrabatenic. He next made himself master of the small towns of Bethela and Ephraim. Into these he threw garrisons, and then advanced with his cavalry up to the walls of Jerusalem, destroying many who fell in his way, and enslaving great numbers. Cerealius, one of his generals, at the head of a detachment of horse and foot, laid waste what was called the upper Idumæa, and attacking Caphethra, erroneously styled a town, he carried it on the first assault, and burned it to the ground. He then turned his arms against another town, by name Capharabin, and as it was defended by a wall of great strength, he laid siege to it; but while he was anticipating a long delay before it, the inhabitants suddenly opened their gates, and approaching him as suppliants, surrendered at discretion. Having reduced these, Cerealius advanced on Hebron, another city and of great antiquity. It lies, as I have said, in the mountain-district, not far from Jerusalem. Having forced the approaches, he put to the sword all that he found there, young and old, and consigned the place to the flames. The various fortresses being now subdued, with the exception of Herodium, Masada, and Machærus, which were held by the brigands, Jerusalem became henceforth the mark which the Romans had in view.

10. Simon, having recovered his wife from the Zealots, turned back on the relics of Idumæa, and harassing the nation in all quarters, compelled many to flee to Jerusalem. He pursued them to the city, and again encircling the wall, whomsoever he took of the labourers coming in in that direction, he put to death. Thus to the people was Simon without more formidable than the Romans, and the Zealots within more oppressive than either. Meanwhile, mischievous devices and audacity brought destruction on the Galilæan army. They had raised John to power, and, requiting them by virtue of the authority which he had acquired, he permitted them to follow their several inclinations. Their avidity for plunder accordingly became insatiable; and the ransack of the dwellings of the opulent, the murder of men, and the violation of women, they looked upon as sport. Their spoils, the purchase of blood, they eagerly devoured, and from mere satiety indulged without scruple in infamous lusts. They braided their hair, attired themselves in female apparel, smeared themselves with ointments, and painted their eyes to heighten their effect; and not only did they imitate the dress, but also the passions of women, and,

in excess of lasciviousness, devised unlawful pleasures, rolling through the city, as in a brothel, defiling it from end to end with impure deeds. But, though they assumed the countenances of women, murder dyed their hands. Approaching with affected delicacy of gait, they would suddenly transform themselves into warriors, and, drawing their swords from under their richly dyed cloaks, transfix whomsoever they met. Those who were flying from John fell in with Simon, the more sanguinary of the two; and he who had escaped the tyrant inside the walls, was slain by the other before the gates. Thus, from those who wished to desert to the Romans, was every avenue of flight cut off.

11. The army now rose in insurrection against John. The Idumæan portion of it, detaching themselves from the rest, made an attack upon the tyrant, as well from envy of his power, as from hatred of his cruelty. An engagement taking place, they slew many of the Zealots, and drove the remainder into the palace built by Grapte, a relative of Izates, king of Adiabene. Rushing in along with them, the Idumæans chased them from thence into the temple, and proceeded to the plunder of John's treasures; he having fixed his residence in the palace just mentioned, and there deposited the spoils of his tyranny. In the meantime, the multitude of Zealots, dispersed throughout the city, drew together to those who had retreated into the temple, and John prepared to lead them against the people and the Idumæans. The latter, who were the better soldiers, were not so much afraid of their attack as of the effects of their desperation, lest, stealing in from the temple by night, they should kill them, and burn the city.

Assembling, therefore, with the chief priests, they deliberated on the best mode of securing themselves against the attack. But God turned their counsels into evil, and they devised for their safety a remedy more grievous than destruction. Accordingly, to work the overthrow of John, they determined to admit Simon, and, with entreaties for his compliance, to introduce over themselves a second tyrant. Their resolution was carried into effect; and the high priest Matthias was deputed to implore Simon, whom they had so much dreaded, to enter the city. In this request, those of Jerusalem who had fled from the Zealots united, yearning after their homes and property. Haughtily consenting to be their master, he made his entry as one who was to rescue the city from the Zealots, greeted with acclamations by the people as their saviour and guardian. But as soon as he had entered with his force, his sole care was to secure his own authority: and he considered those who had invited him not

less his enemies than the faction against whom his aid had been solicited.

12. Thus did Simon, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthicus, become master of Jerusalem. John and the Zealots, being now debarred all egress from the temple, and having lost what they possessed in the city—for Simon, and his party, immediately plundered their property—began to doubt as to their safety. Simon, in conjunction with the people, soon after made an attack on the temple; the Zealots, meanwhile, posting themselves on the colonnades and battlements, and defending themselves against their assailants. Many fell on the side of Simon, and many were borne off wounded; for the Zealots could throw their missiles easily from higher ground, and with unerring aim. Besides the advantage they had from their position, they also erected four very large towers, that they might hurl their weapons from a greater elevation; one at the north-east corner, a second above the Xystus, the third at another corner, opposite the lower town, and the last was constructed over the top of the Pastophoria. Here it was the custom for one of the priests to take his stand and give notice, by sound of trumpet, in the afternoon, of the approach, and again, at eventide, of the close, of every seventh day, making known to the people when to rest, and when to resume labour. On these towers they disposed scorpions and balistas, with the archers and slingers. Thereupon Simon's attacks on the temple became more feeble, as the greater part of his men grew weary of the work, though, from having the superiority in point of numbers, he maintained his ground. The missiles from the engines, however, taking a longer range, killed many of the combatants.

CHAPTER X.

1. ABOUT the very same time Rome, also, was visited with heavy calamities. Vitellius had arrived from Germany with his troops, dragging along with him a vast multitude besides. Not having room enough in the quarters assigned to the troops, he made the whole of Rome a camp, and filled every house with armed men. These, beholding with unaccustomed eyes the riches of the Romans, and encompassed on every side with the glitter of gold and silver, with difficulty restrained their cupidity, and withheld themselves from plunder, and

from destroying all that opposed them. Such was the situation of affairs in Italy.

2. Vespasian, having reduced every spot in the vicinity of Jerusalem, returned to Cæsarea, where he heard of the disturbances in Rome, and that Vitellius was emperor. This intelligence, though he knew as well how to obey as how to command, moved his indignation, and he disdained to own as master one who so madly raged against the empire, as though it were without a protector; and so poignant was his grief, that he was unable to bear up under the torture, and, while his own country was being laid waste, find leisure for other wars. But, in proportion as anger stimulated him to vindicate her cause, so did the thought of the distance restrain him: for, before he could cross into Italy, capricious fortune might in a thousand ways anticipate him, especially as he must sail in the winter season; and this reflection repressed his bursting resentment.

3. The generals and the soldiers assembling in parties, already openly canvassed a revolution. "The soldiers in Rome," they indignantly exclaimed, "who lived in luxury, and could not bear to hear even a rumour of war, elected whom they chose to the throne, and created emperors in hope of lucre; whilst they themselves, who had undergone so many toils, and were growing old beneath their helmets, gave away their privilege to others, and that, too, when they had among themselves one more worthy of the sceptre. What more just return could they ever render him for the kindness he had shown them, if they allowed this opportunity to escape? Vespasian's claim to the empire as far exceeded that of Vitellius, as they were superior to those who had elevated him. For, surely, they had encountered wars no less perilous than the legions of Germany: nor were they inferior in arms to those who were conducting that tyrant from thence. There would be no necessity for a contest; for neither the senate, nor the Roman people, would endure the lasciviousness of Vitellius, in preference to Vespasian's chastity, nor choose a most inhuman tyrant rather than a beneficent ruler—a childless prince, rather than a father; since the best security for peace lies in the natural advantages of princes. Were empire, then, due to the experience of age, they had Vespasian; if to vigour of youth, Titus: for they would thus reap the benefit of their respective ages. Not only would they themselves impart present strength to the object of their choice, as they could already muster three legions, and the auxiliaries from the kings; but he would, moreover, be supported by all in the east, and by those in Europe who were removed beyond the fear of Vitellius, as well as by their allies in Italy, Vespasian's

brother, and his younger son—of whom the one would draw over many young men of rank, while the other had actually been entrusted with the protection of the city—no small advantage in an attempt on the throne. In a word, should they themselves delay, the senate would probably elect the very man whom the soldiers, the joint guardians of the state, treated with neglect.”

4. Such was the language held by the military in their circles. They next assembled together, and animating one another, proclaimed Vespasian emperor, and importuned him to save the endangered empire. That general had long felt solicitude as to the position of affairs, but yet had entertained no thoughts of mounting the throne himself; for, though conscious that his achievements gave him a legitimate claim, he preferred the security of private life to the perils of an exalted station. But on his declining, the officers pressed him with the greater urgency, and the soldiers, crowding round with drawn swords, threatened him with death, if he refused to live with honour. After forcibly urging upon their attention many considerations which led him to refuse the empire, at length, unable to dissuade them, he yielded to their call.

5. Mucianus and the other generals now urging him to act as emperor, and the rest of the army demanding to be led against all opponents, he first turned his mind to the affairs of Alexandria, aware that Egypt was the most important quarter of the empire, in consequence of its vast supply of corn. Were he master of this, he hoped to drive Vitellius from the throne, even should he offer resistance, as the populace of Rome would not submit to be starved. He was besides desirous of drawing over the two legions in Alexandria; while he purposed at the same time to hold that country as a defence against the dubious turns of fortune.

Egypt, difficult of access by land, is destitute of any safe harbour on its coasts. It is protected on the west by the arid deserts of Libya; on the south side, which separates it from Æthiopia, by Syene, and the innavigable cataracts of the Nile: on the east it spreads out to the Red Sea, as far as Coptus; while the land toward Syria, and what is called the Egyptian Sea, which is totally devoid of havens, form its northern barrier. Thus is Egypt secured on all sides. Its length from Pelusium to Syene is two thousand furlongs; and the navigation from Plinthine to Pelusium three thousand six hundred. The Nile is navigable up to the city called Elephantine, beyond which the cataracts already mentioned prevent further advance. The port of Alexandria is difficult of access to ships even in time of peace (calms), the entrance being narrow, and bent from a direct

course by rocks under water. It is defended on the left by artificial piers. On the right in front lies the island called Pharos, upon which has been erected a huge tower, emitting a light visible to mariners making for the port at a distance of three hundred furlongs, to warn them to anchor off the harbour during the night, owing to the difficulty of the navigation.

Around this little island have been constructed by human labour vast moles. The sea dashing against these, and breaking around the opposing bulwarks, renders the passage rough, and the ingress through the strait dangerous. The haven, however, is extremely safe within, and is thirty furlongs in extent. To this are brought whatever commodities the country may require for its own convenience, and thence the superfluities of native produce are distributed through every quarter of the world.

6. With good reason therefore was Vespasian anxious to obtain the ascendancy there, for the stability of the empire at large. He accordingly wrote immediately to Tiberius Alexander, who was then administering affairs in Egypt and Alexandria, informing him of the zeal of the army; and adding that, as he had been necessitated to sustain the weight of the empire, he adopted him as his confederate and coadjutor. Having read the letter in public, Alexander promptly called on the legions and the people to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian; a call with which they both gladly complied, knowing the worth of the man from the character of his command in their neighbourhood. Tiberius, having the concerns of the empire now entrusted to his charge, made all the necessary preparations for the emperor's arrival. Swifter than thought the rumour spread that he was emperor in the east; and every city kept festival, and offered up thanksgivings for the good news, and sacrifices for his welfare. The legions in Mysia and Pannonia, exasperated but just before by the audacity of Vitellius, with the greater cheerfulness swore allegiance to Vespasian.

Setting out from Cæsarea, he proceeded to Berytus, where he was waited upon by numerous embassies from Syria, as also from the other provinces, bringing crowns and congratulatory addresses from the several cities. At the same time arrived Mucianus also, president of the province, announcing the good-will of the people, and that the towns had severally taken the oath of fidelity.

7. Fortune everywhere seconding his wishes, and matters having for the most part combined in his favour, Vespasian was now led to think that he had not been advanced to the government without Divine interposition; and that some just destiny was bringing round



TRIPOLI

to him the control of the empire. He recalled to mind various prognostics—many having occurred to him in every quarter, fore-showing the empire—and among them the expressions of Josephus, who had ventured, even in the lifetime of Nero, to address him as emperor. He was much concerned that the man should be still a prisoner in his hands, and calling for Mucianus, together with his other officers and friends, he first of all reminded them of his gallantry, and how much trouble he had caused him at Jotapata. He then recurred to his predictions, which, at the moment, he had suspected to be the fabrications of fear; but which time and the event had proved to be divine. “It is disgraceful therefore,” he said, “that the man who foretold my elevation to the empire, and who was a minister of the voice of God, should still be in the condition of a captive, and endure a prisoner’s fate;” and having called for Josephus, he ordered him to be liberated. His officers, from this requital of a foreigner, were led to form high expectations for themselves.

Titus, who was present during this scene, remarked to his father, “that justice required, that, with the fetters, the reproach should also be removed from Josephus: for if, instead of loosing, we cut his chain, he will be as one who has never been bound at all.” This is done in the case of those who have been unjustly thrown into irons. Vespasian approving, one came forward and with an axe severed the chain. Josephus, having received his freedom as a recompense for what he had foretold, was now deemed deserving of credit as to future events.

CHAPTER XI.

1. VESPASIAN, having given answer to the embassies, and disposed of the prefectures with due attention to the claims of justice, and the merit of the several candidates, repaired to Antioch. Here deliberating as to what course he should pursue, he considered affairs in Rome of greater importance than a march to Alexandria, which he saw already firmly secured, whereas in the former all had been thrown into confusion by Vitellius. He accordingly despatched Mucianus into Italy, placing under his orders a large body of cavalry and infantry. That officer, fearing a voyage, as the winter season had now fairly set in, led his army by land through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

2. In the meantime Antonius Primus, accompanied by the third legion from Moesia, where he was at the time in command, was also hastening to give battle to Vitellius; who sent Cæcinna Alienus, in whom he had great confidence on account of his victory over Otho, with a strong force to oppose him. Cæcinna advanced by rapid marches from Rome, and met Antonius near Cremona in [Cisalpine] Gaul, a town upon the frontiers of Italy; but on observing the numbers and discipline of the enemy, he was afraid to come to an engagement, and considering a retreat dangerous, he formed the design of going over to Antonius.

Accordingly assembling the centurions and tribunes under his command, he urged them to join his opponent, depreciating the resources of Vitellius, and extolling the strength of Vespasian. "With the one," he said, "was the name alone, with the other the power, of empire; and it were better for them to anticipate necessity, and do a gracious act, and, as they must be defeated by arms, to avert danger by sagacity. For Vespasian was able, without them, to acquire what he had not yet obtained; while Vitellius, even with their help, could not retain what he possessed."

3. By these and many such arguments Cæcinna prevailed with them, and he, with all his army, deserted to Antonius. On that very night, however, regret for the steps they had taken, and fear of him who had sent them, should he prove victorious, seized the soldiers; and drawing their swords, they rushed forward to kill Cæcinna, when their purpose would have been effected, had not the tribunes thrown themselves at their feet, and implored them to pause. They spared his life therefore, but binding the traitor, prepared to send him to Vitellius. Primus, hearing of this, instantly called up his men, and led them in arms against the revoltors; who, forming in order of battle, offered a short resistance; but being soon routed, they fled towards Cremona. Primus at the head of his cavalry, having cut off their entrance into the town, surrounded and slaughtered the greater part of them before the walls, and making his way in with the remainder, he allowed his soldiers to pillage the place. On this occasion many foreign merchants perished, and many of the inhabitants, with the entire army of Vitellius, to the number of thirty thousand two hundred. Of the troops from Moesia, Antonius lost four thousand five hundred. Having liberated Cæcinna, he sent him to acquaint Vespasian with these events. On his arrival he was courteously received by the emperor, who covered the disgrace of his perfidy with unexpected honours.

4. In Rome, meanwhile, Sabinus, who had resumed courage on

hearing of the approach of Antonius, assembled the cohorts of the night-guard, and during the night seized the Capitol. Soon after day-break he was joined by many men of distinction, as also by Domitian, his brother's son, on whom they greatly relied for the success of their enterprise. Vitellius, less concerned about Primus, was fired with rage against those who had revolted with Sabinus; and from his innate cruelty, thirsting for noble blood, he let loose upon the Capitol that division of his army which had accompanied him. Many a gallant exploit they performed, as did the party who fought from that sacred edifice. But at length the troops from Germany, who outnumbered their antagonists, made themselves masters of the hill. Domitian, with many Romans of rank, providentially escaped; the entire multitude besides were cut to pieces. Sabinus was brought to Vitellius, and executed. The soldiers, meanwhile, having plundered the temple of its offerings, consigned it to the flames. The day after, Antonius marched in at the head of his army: the adherents of Vitellius met him, and giving battle at three different points in the city, perished to a man.

Vitellius, drunk, and gorged to excess with the luxuries of the table, as frequently happens with men in desperate circumstances, issued from the palace; and being dragged through the crowd, and treated with every possible indignity, was put to death in the heart of Rome. He had administered the government eight months and five days; and had it so happened that his life had been prolonged, the empire, I am of opinion, would not have sufficed for his voluptuousness. Of the others who were slain, there were counted above fifty thousand. These events took place on the third of the month Apellæus.

The next day Mucianus, entering with his army, restrained the troops of Antonius from further slaughter; for searching the houses, they were still butchering great numbers both of the soldiers of Vitellius, and of the populace, as if attached to his party, rage allowing no leisure for exact discrimination. Mucianus then produced Domitian, whom he recommended to the multitude as governor, until the arrival of his father. The people, freed at length from apprehension, with glad acclaim hailed Vespasian emperor, and celebrated with a festival at once his establishment on the throne, and the overthrow of Vitellius.

5. On reaching Alexandria, Vespasian was greeted with these welcome tidings from Rome, and embassies of congratulation arrived from every quarter of the world, now his own. And though that city was inferior only to Rome in magnitude, it was found too

confined for the multitudes who crowded into it. The whole empire being now secured, and the Roman state saved beyond expectation, Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained of Judæa. He himself, however, was anxious to set out for Rome as soon as the winter was over, and without loss of time settled affairs in Alexandria: despatching meanwhile his son Titus, with a select force, to reduce Jerusalem.

Titus, accordingly, proceeding by land as far as Nicopolis, distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria, there put his army on board long galleys, and advanced up the river, along the Mendesian prefecture, to the city of Thmuis. Here he disembarked, and pursuing his route, passed the night at a small town, called Tanis. His second station was Heracleopolis, and Pelusium his third. Here having halted for two days to refresh his army, on the third he passed through the mouths of Pelusium, and advancing one day's march through the desert, encamped at the temple of the Casian Jupiter, and on the ensuing day at Ostracine. This post he found destitute of water, which the inhabitants convey for their use from other places. He next rested at Rhinocorura, from whence he proceeded to his fourth station, Raphia, at which city Syria commences. At Gaza he formed his fifth encampment. He then advanced to Ascalon, whence he continued his march to Jamnia. Thence he proceeded to Joppa, and from Joppa to Cæsarea, having determined there to concentrate his forces.



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GAZA

THE JEWISH WAR.

BOOK V.

ARGUMENT OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

1. Concerning the Movers of Sedition in Jerusalem.—2. The advance of Titus towards Jerusalem.—3. The revival of the factions within the city.—4. A description of Jerusalem.—5. A description of the Temple.—6. Concerning the Chiefs of the Factions—Simon and John ; Nicanor wounded by an arrow ; Titus provoked to press the siege.—7. After a great slaughter, the Romans take the first wall, and Titus makes his assaults upon the second wall.—Concerning Longinus the Roman, and Castor the Jew.—8. How the Romans twice got possession of the second wall.—9. Titus anew presses forward the siege, and sends Josephus to talk with his countrymen, persuading them to peace.—10. Multitudes of the Jews endeavour to desert to the Romans—the sufferings of the besieged from famine.—11. Many Jews crucified before the walls.—Concerning Antiochus Epiphanes (a Macedonian officer).—12. Titus determines to surround the city with a wall.—13. Great slaughter and sacrilege takes place in Jerusalem.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

1. **TITUS**, having crossed the desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner above described, arrived at Cæsarea, where he had determined to organize his forces previous to the campaign. While he was still at Alexandria, assisting his father in establishing the sovereignty which God had recently committed to them, it happened that the sedition in Jerusalem, having again come to a head, had assumed a threefold shape, and that one party had turned to prey upon itself; a disunion which, as occurring among miscreants, we might call a blessing, and a work of retribution. The attempt of the Zealots upon the people, which was the first step in the capture of the city, has already been accurately described, both as to its origin, and the extent of mischief to which it increased. And with regard to this fresh outbreak, he would not err who should say that it was a sedition engendered within sedition, and, at length, like a ravening wild beast, for want of other food, preying upon its own flesh.

2. **Eleazar**, the son of **Simon**, the man who had originally withdrawn the Zealots from among the people into the temple—under pretence of being indignant at the atrocities daily perpetrated by **John**, who continued, without intermission, his career of blood, but, in reality, because he was unable to brook submission to a tyrant of later standing than himself, and was anxious to grasp the supreme power, and establish a tyranny in his own person—seceded from the rest, associating with him **Judes**, son of **Chelkias**, and **Simon**, son of **Ezron**, men of influence, and **Ezekias**, son of **Chobari**, a man of some distinction. Each of these was attended by a considerable body of Zealots, and, with their aid, they seized on the inner court of the temple, and ranged their arms over the sacred gates, in front of the sanctuary. Having an ample supply of necessities, they were thus far inspired with confidence; (for there was abundance of consecrated

articles for men who hesitated at no impiety) but apprehensive on account of the paucity of their numbers, they laid up their weapons, and confined themselves to the spot. But, whatever numerical advantage John might possess over Eleazar, it was counterbalanced by the inferiority of his situation. Having the enemy over his head, his attacks were not made with impunity; while yet rage would not allow him to remain at rest. Thus, though he suffered more from Eleazar and his party than he inflicted, he would not desist, and amidst continual sallies, and clouds of missiles discharged on both sides, the temple was everywhere defiled with blood.

3. Simon, son of Gioras, whom the people had applied to in their difficulties in hope of relief, and had thus brought upon themselves an oppressor, being master of the upper town, and great part of the lower, now prosecuted his attacks upon John and his associates with the greater vigour, as they were also assailed from above. When he advanced to the charge he was below them, as they were with respect to those above. In consequence, John, attacked on both sides, sustained loss, as easily as he inflicted it. Whatever disadvantage he suffered in being lower than Eleazar, was compensated by the superiority of his position to that of Simon. The attacks from below, accordingly, he repelled with ease by hand weapons, while those who threw their missiles down from the temple he kept in check by his engines.

Of scorpions, catapults, and balistas, he had an ample supply, and with these he not only defended himself against his assailants, but also killed many of the worshippers; for, though madly hurried on to every impiety, they yet admitted those who wished to sacrifice, previously searching the native Jews with suspicious vigilance, but receiving strangers with less apprehension. And yet these, though successful at the entrance in deprecating their cruelty, sometimes became the casual victims of the sedition. For the darts from the engines, carried over by their force to the very altar and sanctuary, would light upon the priests and worshippers; and many who had hastened from the ends of the earth to a spot so celebrated, and deemed holy by all mankind, fell around it themselves, before their sacrifices, and sprinkled with their own blood that altar which was universally venerated by Greeks and Barbarians. The dead bodies of natives and foreigners, of priests and profane, lay huddled together, and the blood of all kinds of carcases stood in pools in the courts of God.

What equal to this, O most wretched city! hast thou suffered from the Romans, who entered to cleanse thee from thine intestine pollu-

tions? For thou wast no longer God's place, nor couldst thou continue, after having become a sepulchre for the bodies of thine own people, and made the temple a charnel-house of civil war! Yet it may be that thy lot may be ameliorated, if only thou wilt propitiate that God who laid thee desolate! But emotion must be restrained by the law of history, as this is not the place for private expressions of grief, but for the narration of events. I shall now relate, in order, the occurrences of the sedition.

4. The conspirators in the city being divided into three factions, Eleazar and his party, who were in possession of the sacred first-fruits, directed their drunken rage against John. He again, with his associates, plundered the people, and wreaked his fury on Simon, who, to the prejudice of his opponents in sedition, was furnished with supplies by the city. John, whenever he found himself attacked by both parties, faced his men in opposite directions, on the one hand assailing from the colonnades those who were coming up from the town, and on the other repelling with his engines those who poured their missiles from the temple; but if at any time relieved from the enemy who pressed on him from above—and inebriation and fatigue frequently induced a cessation on their part—he would sally forth the more fearlessly, and in greater force, against Simon and his adherents. But invariably, however far into the city he drove the enemy before him, throughout that whole extent he set fire to the store-houses, which were filled with corn and provisions of every kind; and the same again, on John's retreat, Simon did, when pursuing him, as if designedly serving the Romans by destroying what the city had provided against a siege, and severing the sinews of their own strength. The result accordingly was, that all around the temple was burned down, and the city became the alternate seat of solitude and battle; and that almost the whole of the corn, which might have sufficed the besieged for many years, was consumed. They were, accordingly, reduced by famine; which would hardly have been possible, had they not previously prepared it for themselves.

5. The city being now on all sides harassed by the conspirators and the concourse of adventurers, the people between them, like some huge carcass, were torn in pieces. Aged men and women, distracted by intestine ills, were praying for the arrival of the Romans, and anxiously looking forwards to the external war for delivery from domestic miseries. Dreadful consternation and alarm had seized the native inhabitants. There was no opportunity for planning a change of measures, nor hope of accommodation or escape to those who desired them. For there was a general system of surveillance carried

on; and the brigand chiefs, disagreeing in everything else, put to death as common enemies all who were disposed for peace with the Romans, or were suspected of an intention to desert, and concurred alone in the slaughter of those who merited preservation.

Incessant was the clamour of the combatants, both by day and by night; but more affecting were the ceaseless complaints of the mourners. Their calamities afforded, indeed, uninterrupted cause for lamentations, though terror repressed their shrieks; but while, through fear, they suppressed their emotions, they were tortured with stifled groans. No respect was any longer paid to the living by their relations; no sepulture provided for the dead—the cause in either case being personal despair. For those who took no part in the sedition had given up their interest in everything, as certainly doomed to almost instantaneous destruction. The insurgents, meanwhile, maintained their contests, trampling on the dead, as they lay piled in heaps, and, catching their desperate phrensy from the corpses at their feet, were the more infuriated.

Ever devising some new means for mutual destruction, and without mercy executing their resolves, they left untried no method of torment or cruelty. John even profanely used the sacred timber for the construction of warlike engines; for the people, in conjunction with the chief priests, having some time before determined to underprop the sanctuary, and raise it twenty cubits higher, king Agrippa had, at vast labour and expense, brought down the materials for that purpose from Mount Lebanon—beams admirable for their straightness and size. But the war having interrupted the work, John, finding them of sufficient length, cut them up, and constructed towers for his defence against those who assailed him from the more elevated part of the temple. These he advanced and placed behind the enclosure, opposite the western chamber, where alone it was practicable, the other parts being occupied by extensive flights of steps.

6. John, with the aid of the engines thus impiously constructed, hoped to triumph over his opponents; but God rendered his labour of no avail, having brought in the Romans before he could bring any of his towers into play. For Titus, having drawn together part of his troops to himself, and sent orders to the others to meet him at Jerusalem, broke up from Cæsarea. There were the three legions which, under the command of his father, had before ravaged Judæa, and the twelfth, that had formerly been defeated with Cestius, and which, remarkable at all times for its valour, on this occasion, from a recollection of what had befallen it, advanced with the greater alacrity to revenge. Of these he directed the fifth to join him by the route



ANATHOTH

of Ammaus, and the tenth to go up by that of Jericho; while he himself moved forward with the remainder, attended, beside these, by the contingents from the allied sovereigns, all in increased force, and by a considerable body of Syrian auxiliaries.

Detachments having been drafted by Vespasian from the four legions, and sent with Mucianus into Italy, their places were filled up from among the troops that had come with Titus. For two thousand men, selected from among the forces of Alexandria, and three thousand of the guards from the Euphrates, accompanied him; and with them, Tiberius Alexander, the most approved of his friends for attachment and prudence, who had previously administered the affairs of Egypt, and was now deemed worthy to have the command of the forces, from his having been the first to welcome the new dynasty at its first rise; and from having attached himself with signal fidelity to its fortunes while yet uncertain. Superior in age and experience, he attended Titus, as his adviser in the exigencies of the war.

CHAPTER II.

1. As Titus advanced into the hostile territory, the royal forces, and the body of auxiliaries, led the way; and after these the pioneers and measurers of the camp. Next came the baggage of the generals; and after the soldiers in charge of this, Titus himself, escorted by the spearmen and the other picked troops; and behind him the legionary horse. These were succeeded by the engines, and they again by the tribunes at the head of a select corps, and by the commanders of the cohorts. Next in course, and encircling the eagle, were the ensigns, in front of which advanced the trumpeters. Then marched the phalanx, in rank, six abreast, followed by the servants of the several legions, and these preceded by the baggage. Last of all came the mercenaries, with the rear-guard to protect them. Leading on his forces in orderly array, according to Roman usage, Titus marched through Samaria to Gophna, which had been previously taken by his father, and was then garrisoned. Here he rested for the night, and, setting forward early in the morning, advanced a day's march, and encamped in the valley, which is called by the Jews, in their native tongue, "The Valley of Thorns," adjacent to a village named Gabath-Saul, which signifies "Saul's Hill," distant from Jerusalem about

thirty furlongs. From hence, accompanied by about six hundred picked horsemen, he rode forward to reconnoitre the strength of the city, and ascertain the disposition of the Jews, whether, on seeing him, they would be terrified into a surrender previous to any actual conflict; for he was persuaded, as was the fact, that the people, crushed down by the insurgents and brigands, desired peace, but remained quiet merely from inability to resist.

2. While he continued to ride along the direct route which led to the wall, no one appeared before the gates; but on his filing off from the road towards the tower Psephinus, and taking an oblique direction with his squadron, the Jews suddenly rushed out in immense numbers at a spot called "The Women's Towers," through the gate opposite the monuments of Helena. They broke through his ranks, and placing themselves in front of the troops who were still advancing along the road, prevented them from joining their comrades, who had filed off, and thus intercepted Titus with only a handful of men. For him to move forward was impossible; as the entire space was intersected by transverse walls and numerous fences, and separated from the ramparts by dykes made for gardening purposes. To rejoin his own men he saw was impracticable, from the vast interposing body of the enemy; and the greater part of his squadron, unconscious of their prince's danger, and not doubting but that he also had turned back along with them, were already in retreat. Sensible that his safety wholly depended on his own personal efforts, he turned his horse round, and, calling aloud to those about him to follow, dashed into the midst of the enemy, with the view of cutting his way through to his own party.

And here the reflection is forcibly suggested, that the vicissitudes of war and the dangers of sovereigns are under the care of God: for of the innumerable missiles aimed at Titus, without helmet as he was or breastplate—for he had gone forward, as I have said, not to fight, but to reconnoitre—none touched him; but, as if purposely missing their aim, all whizzed harmless by. Constantly repelling with his sword the attacks of those who assailed him in flank, and riding down multitudes who encountered him in front, he urged his horse over his prostrate foes. The Jews shouted aloud at Cæsar's intrepidity, and cheered each other on against him; but wherever he directed his course they fled, and made way for him in a mass. Those who shared his danger kept close to him, though galled in rear and flank. For one hope of safety alone remained to each, to open a passage with Titus, and prevent him from being hemmed in. Of two, however, less vigorous, one with his horse was surrounded and

speared; the other, who had dismounted, was killed, and his charger led off to the city: with the rest Titus escaped to the camp. By the success of this their first attempt, the Jews were elated with unwarranted expectations, and this momentary turn of fortune inspired them with high confidence as to the future.

3. Cæsar, being joined during the night by the legion from Ammaus, moved the next day from thence, and advanced to Scopus, as it is called, the place from which the city first became visible, and the stately pile of the sanctuary shone forth; whence it is that this spot—a flat adjoining the northern quarter of the town—is appropriately called Scopus (*the Prospect*). When at the distance of seven furlongs from the city, Titus ordered a camp to be formed for two of the legions together; the fifth he stationed three furlongs in rear of them: thinking that, as they had been fatigued with their march during the night, they required to be covered, that they might throw up their entrenchments with less apprehension. Scarcely had they commenced their operations, when the tenth legion arrived. It had advanced through Jericho, where a party of soldiers had lain to guard the pass formerly taken possession of by Vespasian. These troops had received orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the Mount of Olives, so called, which lies over against the city on the east, and is separated from it by a deep intervening ravine, which bears the name of Kedron.

4. Whilst the factions within the walls were engaged in unceasing conflicts, an external war, suddenly approaching with alarming aspect, first checked their mutual dissensions; and the insurgents, beholding with dismay the Romans forming three several encampments, began to cultivate a pernicious concord, demanding of each other what they could be waiting for, or what could induce them to tolerate the erection of three fortifications to smother them? While the war unhindered was assuming the aspect of a rival city, they sat still within their ramparts, as if they were spectators of good and useful works, their hands and weapons alike unemployed. “We are courageous, then,” they exclaimed, “only against ourselves; while the Romans, through our disunion, will make a bloodless conquest of the city!” Assembling together, and encouraging one another with language such as this, they suddenly seized their arms, and sallied forth to attack the tenth legion; and, bursting through the ravine with a deafening shout, fell upon the Romans while at work upon their entrenchments. These were divided into parties for the purpose of carrying on the work, and had for the most part laid aside their arms; for they imagined that the Jews would never

venture on a sally, and, even were they so inclined, that their energies would be distracted by their dissensions. They were in consequence taken by surprise, and thrown into disorder. Abandoning the works, some instantly retreated, while many, who ran to arms, were slaughtered before they could turn on their assailants.

Encouraged by the success of the first assault, reinforcements were continually flowing in upon the Jews; and now that they found fortune auspicious, they seemed to themselves, and to the enemy, greatly to exceed their actual amount. Any disarray taking by surprise men who are accustomed to organization, and skilled only to fight in line and by word of command, is sure to throw them into confusion. The Romans, accordingly, on this occasion, being taken unawares, gave way to the attack; but, facing about when the Jews came up with them, they checked their advance, retaliating severely on them, when off their guard in the ardour of pursuit. But, as the sallying party were gaining continual accessions, the disorder of the Romans was proportionably increased, and they were at length driven from their camp. And the entire legion, as it seemed, would then have been endangered, had not Titus, hearing what had happened, instantly hastened to its succour. Bitterly upbraiding their cowardice, he rallied the fugitives, and falling upon the Jews in flank, with the chosen band that accompanied him, he slew many, and wounded more; and, routing all, drove them headlong down the ravine. They suffered severely on the declivity; but when they had reached the farther side, they wheeled about, and drawing up opposite to the Romans, with the brook between them, renewed the combat. The battle raged in this way till noon, but when it began to decline a little from mid-day, Titus, having stationed those who had come with him to the relief of their comrades, with detachments from the cohorts, to repress any further sallies, despatched the remainder of the legion to the upper part of the Mount, to proceed with their entrenchments.

5. This movement the Jews mistook for flight; and, the watchman whom they had placed on the battlements having shaken his garment, a fresh crowd sprang forth with such impetuosity, that you might compare their running to that of the most ferocious wild beasts. None of their opponents could at all sustain their onset; but as if struck from an engine, they broke up their ranks and turned and fled to the Mount. Titus was left with a few followers in the midst of the acclivity. The friends who stood their ground, indifferent to personal danger through reverence for their general, earnestly entreated him "to retire before the Jews, who courted death, and



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MOUNT OF OLIVES
FROM THE SLOPE OF ZION

not to endanger his life for those who ought to have remained in front of him. He should consider the station to which fortune had elevated him, and not occupy the position of a common soldier, lord as he was both of the war and of the world; nor should he, on whom all depended, expose himself to a risk so imminent."

These entreaties Titus seemed not so much as to hear, but set himself to withstand those who were running up the hill towards him. Confronting them as they pressed forwards, he cut them down and slew them, and falling upon the thickest of the mass, drove them back down the declivity. Yet, though terrified both at his intrepidity and his strength, instead of falling back upon the city, they fell off from him on either side, and pursued those who were fleeing up the hill; on which, attacking them also in flank, he sought to check their impetuosity. In the meantime, those who were fortifying the camp on the higher ground, when they saw their comrades below in flight, were again seized with such consternation and alarm, that the legion was totally dispersed. They fancied that the charge of the Jews was irresistible, and that Titus himself was among the fugitives; for the rest, they thought, would never have fled, while he maintained his ground. As if surrounded with a panic dread, they scattered in different directions; until a few, perceiving their General in the thickest of the fight, and greatly alarmed on his account, with loud shouts intimated his danger to the whole legion. Shame rallied them, and upbraiding one another with something worse than flight, in their desertion of Cæsar, they employed their utmost energies against the Jews, and, when once they had given way, thrust them in a mass down the declivity into the hollow. The Jews contested the ground as they retreated; but the Romans, having the advantage of position, drove them in a body into the ravine. Titus, still pressing on those who opposed him, ordered the legion back to complete their fortifications. He himself, with the troops he had before, maintained his ground, and kept the enemy in check; so that, if it be incumbent on me, without adding aught through adulation, or detracting through envy, to declare the truth, I must assert, that Cæsar personally twice rescued the whole legion when in danger, and obtained for them an opportunity of fortifying their camp unmolested.

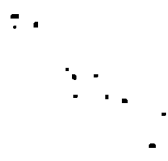
CHAPTER III.

1. **THE** war without—pausing for a while, the sedition revived again within; and the feast of unleavened bread being at hand, on the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, upon which the Jews are supposed to have been for the first time liberated from Egyptian servitude, Eleazar and his party opened the gates, and admitted such of the people as were desirous of worshipping within the court. John, making the festival a cloak for his perfidious designs, armed with concealed weapons the less notorious of his adherents, of whom the greater part were unpurified, and with much ado introduced them by stealth, with the view of seizing upon the temple. Scarcely had they entered, when, throwing aside their garments, they suddenly appeared in full armour. The utmost disorder and tumult instantly prevailed around the sanctuary, the people, who were unconnected with the sedition, supposing that the attack was intended against all indiscriminately—the Zealots, against themselves alone. The latter, however, relinquishing the further defence of the gates, sprang down from the battlements, and, before they came to close quarters, took refuge in the vaults of the temple; while the people, crouching before the altar, and huddling together round the sanctuary, were trodden down amidst a random shower of blows from clubs and swords. Many peaceable persons, through enmity and private hatred, were dispatched by their enemies as partisans of the adverse faction; and every one that had previously given umbrage to any of the conspirators, being now recognised, was led to execution, as a Zealot. But while they exercised a thousand cruelties towards the innocent, they granted a truce to the guilty, and allowed them a safe egress, when they issued from the vaults. Having thus possessed themselves of the inner court of the temple, with all the stores in it, they could now bid defiance to Simon. The sedition, in consequence, which had before been threefold, was thus reduced to two sections.

2. Titus, intending to break up from Scopus and encamp nearer to the city, stationed a body of picked men, horse and foot, in such force as he deemed sufficient to check the sallies of the enemy, and employed the main body of his army in levelling the intervening ground as far as the walls. All the fences and hedges, with which the inhabitants had enclosed their gardens and orchards,



AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE TUNNEL





WESTERN ANGLE OF THE CITY WALL;
FROM WITHIN.

being accordingly swept away, and the fruit-trees in the whole of the intermediate distance felled, the hollows and chasms of the place were filled up, and the rocky eminences removed with iron implements; and thus the whole space from Scopus to the monuments of Herod, adjacent to what is called "the Serpents' Pool," was reduced to a level.

3. About this time the Jews concerted the following stratagem against the Romans. The more daring of the insurgents, issuing out of the Women's Towers, as they were called, as if expelled from the city by the advocates of peace, and dreading an attack from the Romans, pressed close together, cowering alongside of each other. The others, stationed on the wall, and pretending to be citizens, cried aloud, meanwhile, for peace, and claiming protection, invited the Romans, promising to open the gates. Amidst these vociferations, they moreover assailed their own party with stones, as if to drive them from the gates. The latter made feints of attempting to force the entrances, and of petitioning those within; ever and anon rushing towards the Romans, and again retreating, as if in extreme agitation.

Among the soldiers their knavery did not fail to obtain credit. Imagining they had one party in their hands, ready for punishment, and hoping that the other would open the city to them, they were on the point of proceeding to action. This unaccountable invitation, however, was viewed by Titus with suspicion; for having but the day before, through Josephus, invited them to terms, he had found their demands exceeding all reason; and he therefore ordered the soldiers then to remain in their position. Some of those at the works, notwithstanding, who were stationed in front, had already snatched up their arms, and run forwards towards the gates. They who pretended to have been expelled from the city, at first retired before them; but when the soldiers were between the towers of the gate, the Jews, rushing out, surrounded them, and attacked them in rear. Those on the wall poured down a shower of stones, and every species of missile, so that many were killed, and great numbers wounded; for it was by no means easy to escape from the wall, as they were pressed upon by those behind. Besides, shame for the error of their leaders, and fear, induced them to persevere in their fault. Accordingly, after maintaining a long contest with their spears, and receiving many wounds from their opponents, but inflicting not fewer in return, they eventually drove back the party who had surrounded them. The Jews, however, as soon as they began to retire, pursued them as far as the monuments of Helena, annoying them with missiles.

4. Hereupon the Jews, exulting immoderately in their good fortune, passed their jests on the Romans, who had been the dupes of the artifice, and brandishing their shields, danced and shouted for joy. The soldiers were received with a reprimand from their officers, and with indignation on the part of Cæsar.

“The Jews,” said he, “whom desperation alone directs, do every thing with forethought and circumspection, carefully arranging their stratagems and ambuscades:—fortune, moreover, favours their enterprises, because of their obedience, their kindly feelings towards one another, and their fidelity; while the Romans, to whom even fortune, by reason of their discipline, and prompt submission to their officers, has ever been a servant, now fail under an opposite line of conduct, and are defeated through their own intemperate proceedings; and, what redounds most of all to their disgrace, they fight without a leader, when Cæsar is present. Deeply,” he said, “would the laws of military service mourn, and equally so his father, when he hears of this discomfiture—he who, grown old in wars, had never met with a similar disaster—those laws, which always punish with death such as are guilty of the slightest infringement of discipline, and yet which have now seen an entire army abandon its post. But those who have been thus presumptuous shall instantly know, that, among the Romans, even to gain a victory without orders is attended with dishonour.”

Titus, having made these protestations to the officers, evinced a determination to put the law in force against all. Accordingly, as expecting the next moment to meet with the death they had deserved, they became greatly dejected; but the legions, pouring round Titus, petitioned him for their fellow-soldiers, imploring him to pardon, in consideration of the obedience of the many, the rashness of a few; and promising that they would atone for their present error by future deserts.”

5. With these solicitations, and with the dictates of prudence, Cæsar complied; for he thought that though, in the case of individuals, punishment should be actually inflicted, yet, when numbers were implicated, it should end with reproof. He was therefore reconciled to the soldiers; but he strictly admonished them to act for the time to come with greater circumspection. He now deliberated how best to revenge himself for this artifice of the Jews. In four days, the interval between his post and the walls having been levelled, Titus, anxious to forward in safety the baggage and the followers of the army, ranged the flower of his troops opposite the wall on the northern quarter of the city, and extending towards the west, the phalanx being drawn up seven deep. The infantry were disposed in front,

- A Lower part of Gihon
- B Jews place of Washing
- C Spring Stones of Arch
- D Entrance to Tunnels
- E 12 Tent Poles
- F Temple

WEST
OF
OLIVES

WEST
OF
OLIVES

Upper part
of Gihon

SITE OF JERUSALEM.

and the cavalry in rear, each in three ranks ; the archers, who formed the seventh, being in the middle.

The sallies of the Jews being checked by such an array, the beasts of burthen belonging to the three legions, with the camp-followers, passed on in safety. Titus himself encamped about two furlongs from the ramparts, at the corner opposite the tower called Psephinus, where the circuit of the wall, in its advance along the north side, bends with a western aspect. The other division of the army was entrenched opposite to the tower named Hippicus, distant, in like manner, two furlongs from the city. The tenth legion continued to occupy its position on the Mount of Olives, as it is called.

CHAPTER IV.

1. JERUSALEM, fortified by three walls—except where it was encompassed by its impassable ravines, for there it had but a single rampart—was built, the one division fronting the other, on two hills, separated by an intervening valley, at which the rows of houses terminated. Of these hills, that on which the upper town was situated is much the higher, and straighter in its length. Accordingly, on account of its strength, it was styled the Fortress by king David, the father of Solomon, by whom the temple was originally erected ; but by us, the Upper Market-place. The other, which bears the name of Acra, and supports the lower town, is of a gibbous form. Opposite to this was a third hill, naturally lower than Acra, and formerly severed from it by another broad ravine. Afterwards, however, the Asmonæans, during their reign, filled up the ravine, with the intention of uniting the city to the temple ; and levelling the summit of Acra, they reduced its elevation, so that the temple might be conspicuous above other objects in this quarter also. The Valley of the Cheese-makers, as it was designated, which divided, as we have said, the hill of the upper town from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam, as we call it, a fountain whose waters are at once sweet and copious. On the exterior, the two hills on which the city stood were skirted by deep ravines, so precipitous on either side that the town was nowhere accessible.

2. Of the three walls, the most ancient, as well from the ravines which surrounded it, as from the hill above them on which it was erected, was almost impregnable. But, besides the advantages of its

situation, it was also strongly built; David and Solomon, as well as their successors on the throne, having devoted much attention to the work. Beginning on the north at the tower called Hippicus, and extending to what was termed the Xystus, it then formed a junction with the council-house, and terminated at the western colonnade of the temple. On the other side, towards the west, beginning at the same tower, it stretched through Bethso, as it was styled, to the gate of the Essenes. It then turned, and advanced with a southern aspect above the fountain of Siloam, whence it again inclined, facing the east, towards Solomon's reservoir, and extending to a certain spot designated Ophla, it joined the eastern colonnade of the temple.

The second had its beginning at the gate which they called Gennath, belonging to the first wall. It reached to the Antonia, and encircled only the northern quarter of the town. The tower Hippicus formed the commencement of the third wall, which stretched from thence towards the northern quarter, as far as the tower Psephinus, and then passing opposite the monuments of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and mother of king Izates, and extending through the royal caverns, was inflected at the corner tower near to the spot known by the appellation of the Fuller's Tomb; and, connecting itself with the old wall, terminated at the valley called Kedron. This wall Agrippa had thrown round the new-built town, which was quite unprotected; for the city, overflowing with inhabitants, gradually crept beyond the ramparts; and the people, incorporating with the city the quarter north of the temple close to the hill, made a considerable advance, insomuch that a fourth hill, which is called Bezetha, was also surrounded with habitations. It lay over against the Antonia, from which it was separated by a deep fosse, purposely excavated to cut off the communication between the foundations of the Antonia and the hill, that they might be at once less easy of access, and more elevated. Thus the depth of the trench materially increased the altitude of the towers.

The quarter most recently built was called, in our language, Bezetha, which, if translated into the Greek tongue, would be Cænopolis (*New-town*). Those who resided there requiring defence, the father of the present sovereign, and of the same name, Agrippa, commenced the wall we have mentioned. But, apprehending that Claudius Cæsar might suspect from the magnitude of the structure that he entertained some designs of innovation and insurrection, he desisted when he had merely laid the foundations. For, indeed, had he completed that wall upon the scale on which it was begun, the city would have been impregnable. It was constructed of stones twenty cubits



HIPPICUS.

long and ten broad, fitted into each other in such a manner that they could scarcely have been undermined with iron, or shaken by engines. The wall itself was ten cubits in breadth; and it would probably have attained a greater height than it did, had not the enterprising spirit of its founder met with a check; but subsequently, though the work was carried on with ardour by the Jews, it only rose to the height of twenty cubits; while, crowning this, were battlements of two cubits, upon parapets of three cubits in altitude, so that it attained in its entire elevation twenty-five cubits.

3. On this wall were erected towers, twenty cubits in breadth, and the same in height, square, and solid as the wall itself. In the joining and beauty of the stones, they were nowise inferior to the temple. Over the solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, were sumptuous apartments; and above these, again, upper rooms, and numerous cisterns therein to receive the rain-water, and to each room wide staircases. Of such towers the third wall had ninety, disposed at intervals of two hundred cubits. The middle wall was divided into fourteen towers, and the ancient one into sixty. Of the city, the entire circuit was thirty-three furlongs. But admirable as was the third wall throughout, still more so was the tower Psephinus, which rose up at the north-west angle, and opposite to which Titus encamped. Being seventy cubits high, it afforded at sunrise a prospect of Arabia, and of the limits of the Hebrew territories as far as the sea; it was octagonal in form.

Over against this was the tower Hippicus, and near to it two others, all erected by king Herod in the ancient wall, which, in magnitude, beauty, and strength, exceeded all that the world could produce; for, with a taste naturally magnificent, and ambitious of decorating the city, the king further sought, in the surpassing splendour of these works, to gratify his private feelings, and dedicated them to the memory of the three persons to whom he had been most tenderly attached, and after whom he named the towers—his brother, his friend, and his wife. The last mentioned, as we have above related, he had put to death through wounded love; the two former he had lost in war, fighting gallantly.

Hippicus, so called from his friend, was quadrangular, its length and breadth being each twenty-five cubits, and to the height of thirty cubits it was solid throughout. Above this solid part, which was constructed of stones formed into one compact mass, was a reservoir to receive the rain, twenty cubits deep, over which was a house of two stories, twenty-five cubits high, and divided into various apartments. Above this were battlements of two cubits in height, mounted upon

parapets of three; so that the entire altitude amounted to eighty cubits.

The second tower, which he named Phasaëlus, from his brother, was of equal length and breadth, forty cubits each, and the same in solid height. Over this, and embracing the whole of the structure, was a gallery, ten cubits high, defended by breast-works and battlements. Above this, and rising from its centre, was built another tower, containing sumptuous apartments, and also a bath; so that nothing was wanting to impart to this tower the aspect of a palace. Its summit was more richly ornamented with battlements and parapets than that just described, and its entire altitude was about ninety cubits. In appearance it resembled the tower of Pharos, which serves as a lighthouse to those sailing to Alexandria, though it was much greater in circumference. At this date it was the seat of Simon's tyranny.

The third tower, Mariamne—for such was the queen's name—was solid to the height of twenty cubits; its breadth, also, being twenty cubits, and its length the same. Its upper apartments were more sumptuous and elegant than those of the other towers, the king thinking it more suitable that that named from a woman should be more highly ornamented than those called after men, just as they were stronger than the woman's. Of this the entire elevation was fifty-five cubits.

4. But while such was the actual magnitude of these three towers, their site added much to their apparent dimensions. For the ancient wall in which they stood was itself built on a lofty hill; and higher still rose up in front, to the height of thirty cubits, a kind of crest of the hill; on this the towers rested, and thus acquired a much greater altitude. Admirable, likewise, was the magnitude of the stones; for these towers were not constructed of ordinary blocks, nor of stones such as might be carried by men, but of white marble, cut; and the length of each block was twenty cubits, its breadth ten, and its depth five. So accurately were they joined one upon another, that each tower seemed a single rock that jutted up naturally, and had subsequently been polished all round by the hands of the artificer into its angular form; so totally imperceptible on all sides was the fitting of the joints.

To these towers, which lay northward, was attached on the inner side the royal residence, which exceeded all description. The magnificence of the work, and the skill displayed in its construction, could not be surpassed. It was completely enclosed within a wall thirty cubits high, and ornamented towers were distributed around it at equal distances, with spacious apartments, each capable of containing couches for a hundred guests. In these the diversity of the stones

was not to be expressed ; for, whatever was rare in every country, was there collected in abundance. Admirable, also, were their roofs, both for the length of the beams, and for the splendour of their decorations. The number of apartments, moreover, and the variety of devices around them, were infinite ; nor was any article of furniture wanting in any of them, the greater proportion of it in each being of silver and gold.

All around were many cloistered courts opening into one another, and the columns in each different. Such parts of these as were open to the air were everywhere clothed with verdure. There were besides, various groves with long walks through them, lined by deep conduits ; and in many places ponds studded with bronze figures, through which the water was discharged ; and around the streams were numerous cots for tame doves. But, indeed, adequately to describe the palace is impossible ; and the recollection stings me to the heart, recalling as it does the ravages of the brigand fires. For it was not the Romans who consigned it to the flames, but this was done, as we have before related, by the conspirators within the city at an early stage of the revolt. The conflagration began at the Antonia, passed onward to the palace, and consumed the roofs of the three towers.

CHAPTER V.

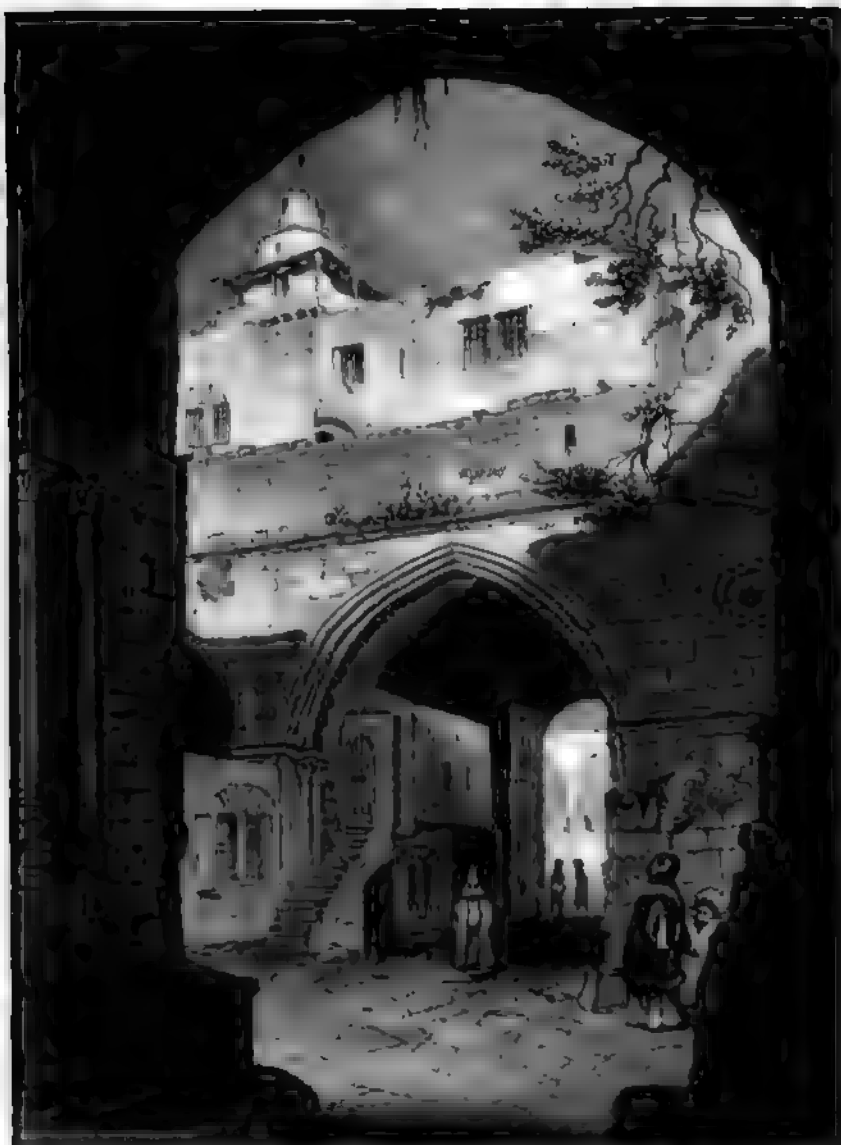
1. THE temple, as I have said, was seated on a strong hill. Originally the level space on its summit scarcely sufficed for the sanctuary, and the altar, the ground about being abrupt and steep. But king Solomon, who built the sanctuary, having completely walled up the eastern side, a colonnade was built upon the embankment. On the other sides, the sanctuary remained exposed. In process of time, however, as the people were constantly adding to the embankment, the hill became level and broader. They also threw down the northern wall, and enclosed as much ground as the circuit of the temple at large subsequently occupied. After having surrounded the hill from the base with a triple wall, and accomplished a work which surpassed all expectation—a work on which long ages were consumed, and all their sacred treasures exhausted, though replenished by the tributes offered to God from every region of the world—they built the upper boundary walls, and the lower court of the temple.

The lowest part of the latter they built up from a depth of three

hundred cubits, and in some places more. The entire depth of the foundations, however, was not discernible; for, with a view to level the streets of the town, they filled up the ravines to a considerable extent. There were stones used in the building which measured forty cubits; for so ample was the supply of money, and such the zeal of the people, that incredible success attended the undertaking; and that of which hope itself could not anticipate the accomplishment, was by time and perseverance completed.

2. Nor was the superstructure unworthy of such foundations. The colonnades, double throughout, were supported by pillars twenty-five cubits in height, each a single block of marble of the purest white. The ceilings were of panelled cedar. The natural magnificence of the latter, their exquisite polish, and the accurate fitting of the joints, presented a memorable spectacle, though unaided by any extrinsic embellishments of painting or sculpture. The colonnades were thirty cubits broad, and their entire circuit, including the Antonia, measured six furlongs. The open space was paved throughout, and variegated with stones of every kind. As you advanced through this to the second court of the temple, you came to a stone balustrade, drawn all round, three cubits in height, and of exquisite workmanship. On this stood tablets at regular intervals, setting forth the law of purification, some in Greek, others in Roman letters, that no foreigner was permitted to enter within the holy place; for so the second court of the temple was called. It was ascended from the first by fourteen steps, was quadrangular at the top, and surrounded by a distinct wall. The exterior altitude of this, though not less than forty cubits, was concealed by the steps; the inner was twenty-five cubits; for being constructed with steps against a rising ground, a portion only of the inner side was visible, the remainder being concealed by the hill.

Beyond the fourteen steps, the distance to the wall was ten cubits, all level. Thence again other flights of five steps led up to the gates, of which there were eight on the north and south sides, four to each, and two necessarily on the east; for a place of worship, set apart for the women, having been portioned off on that quarter by a wall, a second gate became requisite. This was opened opposite to the first. There were also, on the other side, one southern, and one northern gate, through which they could pass into the women's court; for women were not permitted to enter by the others, nor yet through their own to pass beyond the wall of separation. This enclosure was, however, free for purposes of worship both to women of our own country, and to those of our people born in foreign lands, without



HARAM: PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE.

(WEST SIDE)

distinction. The quarter towards the west had no gate; the wall on that side being built without a break. The cloisters that extended between the gates from the wall, and turned inward in front of the treasury chambers, were supported by large and extremely beautiful columns. These were single, and, except in size, in no respect inferior to those of the lower court.

3. Of the gates nine were overlaid throughout with gold and silver; as were their side-posts and lintels; but one of them, that which was exterior to the sanctuary, was of Corinthian brass, and greatly exceeding in sumptuousness those plated with silver and gold. To each gateway were two doors, and each door was thirty cubits in height and fifteen in breadth. Within the entrances, however, the gate-ways expanded on either side, and contained chambers thirty cubits in breadth and the same in length, built in the form of towers, and exceeding forty cubits in altitude; each supported by two pillars, twelve cubits in circumference. Of all the other gates the dimensions were equal; but that beyond the Corinthian, and which opened on the eastern side from the women's court, opposite the gate of the sanctuary, was much the larger; having an elevation of fifty cubits, with doors of forty, and with decorations more costly, being overlaid with massive plates of silver and gold. The nine gates were sheeted in this manner by Alexander, the father of Tiberius. Fifteen steps conducted from the women's partition to the larger gate; for they were shallower than those five steps which led to the other gates.

4. To the sanctuary itself, the holy temple, situated in the centre, the ascent was by twelve steps. In front its height and breadth were equal, a hundred cubits each. In rear it was forty cubits narrower; for in front a kind of shoulders extended on either side twenty cubits. Its first gate, which was seventy cubits high, and twenty-five broad, had no doors; for it represented the invisible and unobstructed heaven. The entire face was covered with gold; and through it appeared within, the whole of the first compartment, which was very large; while every thing around the inner gate met the eye of the spectator, resplendent with gold. The sanctuary within consisting of two stories, the first compartment alone lay exposed to view, rising without a break to an elevation of ninety cubits, its length being fifty, and its breadth twenty. The gate-way through this was, as I have stated, completely overlaid with gold, as was the whole wall around it. It had above it, moreover, golden vines, from which hung down clusters of grapes a man's stature in length.

The sanctuary being divided beyond this into two stories, the inside view was lower than the outside, and it had golden doors fifty-five

cubits high, and sixteen wide. Before these was spread a veil of equal length. It was of Babylonian tapestry, variegated with blue and fine linen, with scarlet and purple, wrought with admirable skill. Nor was the mixture of the materials without design ; it served as a symbol of the universe. For the scarlet seemed emblematical of fire, the fine linen of the earth, the blue of the air, and the purple of the sea : two of them being thus compared for their colour ; the fine linen and the purple, on account of their origin ; as the earth produces the one, and the sea the other. Embroidered on this tapestry was a representation of the entire heaven, the signs of the Zodiac excepted.

5. Advancing within, the lower story of the sanctuary received you. This was sixty cubits in height, and the same in length, while its breadth was twenty cubits. These sixty cubits of length were again divided. The first part, partitioned off at forty cubits, contained within it three pieces of workmanship, most admirable and universally celebrated ; a candlestick, a table, and an altar of incense. The seven lamps represented the planets, for so many were the branches of the candlestick. The loaves on the table, twelve in number, symbolized the circle of the Zodiac, and the year. The altar of incense, by the thirteen fragrant spices, with which it was replenished from the sea, and from lands inhabited and uninhabited, signified that all things are of God, and for God.

The innermost recess of the temple measured twenty cubits, and was separated in like manner from the outer by a veil. In this, nothing whatever was deposited. Unapproachable, inviolable, and to be seen by none, it was called the Holy of the Holy. Around the sides of the lower part of the sanctuary were many houses of three stories, communicating with one another. To these, on either side, were entrances from the vestibule. The upper part of the building had none of these chambers, inasmuch as it was narrower ; but it rose forty cubits higher, and was less sumptuous than the lower part. Thus, including sixty cubits of the ground floor, we collect that the entire altitude was a hundred cubits.

6. The exterior front of the edifice wanted nothing that could strike either the mind or the eye. Overlaid throughout with massy plates of gold, it reflected at sunrise so fiery a lustre, that those who constrained themselves to look upon it were compelled to avert their eyes, as from the solar rays. To strangers approaching, it seemed, from a distance, like a mountain covered with snow ; for in those parts not overlaid with gold, the building was of the purest white. On its summit were fixed sharp golden spikes, to prevent the birds from settling, and polluting the roof. Of the stones of which it was con-

structed, some were forty-five cubits in length, five in depth, and six in breadth. In front of it stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and extending equally in length and breadth, fifty cubits each way. In form, it was quadrangular, with corners projecting like horns. It was ascended on the south by a gently sloping acclivity. In its construction no iron was used, nor was it ever touched by iron. Surrounding both the sanctuary and the altar was a neat barrier, about a cubit high, of ornamental stone, which separated the people outside from the priests. Those affected with impure runnings, or with leprosy, were excluded from every quarter of the city. To women it was closed at particular periods; nor even when purified were they allowed to pass the limit we have mentioned above. Men, not thoroughly purified, were prohibited the inner court; from which the priests were equally excluded, if in any respect defiled.

7. Those who were of sacerdotal lineage, but were prevented from ministering by some defect, were permitted to come within the partition, along with those who had no imperfection, and received the portion which was their birth-right, but they wore the habit of private individuals: for he alone that ministered was clothed with the sacred vestments. The priests who were without blemish went up to the altar and the sanctuary dressed in fine linen, carefully abstaining from wine through a religious awe, lest they should be guilty of any transgression in their ministrations. The high priest went up with them, not at all times indeed, but on the seventh days, and new moons; and on any national festival, or annual assemblage of all the people. When ministering, he wore drawers which covered his thighs up to the loins, and an under garment of linen, and over that a blue vestment reaching to his feet, round and fringed. From the fringes were suspended golden bells, alternated with pomegranates: the bells a symbol of thunder, the pomegranates of lightning. The girdle which attached the garment to the breast was formed of five cinctures, embroidered and flowered with gold, purple, scarlet, fine linen, and blue, with which, as we have stated, the veils of the sanctuary were also interwoven.

He had an ephod, likewise, of the same mixed material, the gold preponderating. Its figure was similar to that of an ordinary coreset. It was fastened by two golden clasps, resembling small shields, in which were set two very large and beautiful sardonyxes, bearing inscribed the names of those from whom the tribes of the nation were denominated. On the fore part were attached to it twelve stones, assorted in four rows of three each; a sardius, a topaz, and an emerald; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire; an agate, an amethyst, and a

figure; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysolith; on each of which, again, was written the name of one of the heads of the tribes. His head was covered with a mitre of fine linen, wreathed with blue, round which was another crown, of gold, whereon were embossed the sacred letters, which are four vowels. This dress the high priest did not wear on ordinary occasions, but used one of a plainer description, except when he entered the most holy place, into which he went alone once in the year, on the day upon which it was a universal custom with us to observe a fast to God. Of the city and temple, and of the usages and laws peculiar to them, we shall speak more minutely at another time; for, in reference to these, much remains to be said.

8. The Antonia lay at the angle formed by two colonnades, the western and the northern, of the first court of the temple. It was built upon a rock fifty cubits high, and on every side precipitous. It was a work of king Herod, in which he particularly evinced the natural greatness of his mind. For, first, the rock was covered from the base upwards with smooth stone flags, as well for ornament, as that any one who attempted to ascend or descend might slip off. Next, and in front of the edifice itself, there was a wall of three cubits; and within this the entire space occupied by the Antonia rose to an altitude of forty cubits. The interior resembled a palace in extent and arrangement, being distributed into apartments of every description, and for every use, with cloistered courts and baths, and spacious barracks for the accommodation of troops; so that its various conveniences gave it the semblance of a town, its magnificence that of a palace.

The general appearance of the whole was that of a tower, with other towers at each of the four corners, three of which were fifty cubits high, while that at the south-east angle rose to an elevation of seventy cubits, so that from thence there was a complete view of the temple. Where it adjoined the colonnades of the temple, it had passages leading down to both, through which the guards—for in the fortress there always lay a Roman legion—descended and disposed themselves about the colonnades, in arms, at the festivals, to watch the people, and repress any insurrectionary movement. For the temple lay as a fortress over the city, and the Antonia over the temple, the guards of all the three being stationed in the Antonia; while the upper town had its own fortress—Herod's palace. The hill Bezetha was detached, as I have mentioned, from the Antonia. It was the highest of the three, and was joined on to part of the new town, forming northward the only obstruction to the view of the temple. As I propose to give hereafter a more minute description of the city and the walls, these remarks shall for the present suffice.



THE OLD HOUSE IN THE EAST

CHAPTER VI.

1. THE whole number of fighting men and insurgents in the city was as follows. Attached to Simon were ten thousand men, irrespective of the Idumæans. Over these were fifty officers, Simon himself acting as commander-in-chief. The Idumæans who joined his ranks, five thousand in number, had ten leaders, of whom James, the son of Sosas, and Simon, the son of Cathlas, were reputed to be the foremost. John, who had seized on the temple, had under his orders six thousand men-at-arms, commanded by twenty officers. The Zealots, also, had now laid aside their differences and gone over to him, to the number of two thousand four hundred, led by Eleazar, their former general, and Simon, son of Ari. While these factions were at war with one another, as we have already stated, the citizens were their common prize; and that section of the people which refused to sanction their unjust proceedings, were torn in pieces by both.

Simon occupied the upper town and the great wall, as far as the Kedron, with as much of the old wall as, bending eastward from Siloam, descended to the palace of Monobazus, king of Adiabene, beyond the Euphrates. He held, likewise, the fountain and the Acra, which was the lower town, with the interval as far as the palace of Helena, the mother of Monobazus. John occupied the temple, and the parts about it to a considerable distance, with Ophla, and the valley called Kedron. When they had reduced all that lay between these to ashes, a place was cleared for their mutual conflicts. For not even when the Romans had encamped under the walls, did the sedition pause within; but after a brief interval of returning soberness, when they made their first sally, they soon relapsed, and again began to quarrel and fight among themselves, doing all that the besiegers could have desired.

Accordingly, they were exposed to no worse treatment from the Romans than they inflicted on one another; nor after the miseries they occasioned, did the city suffer any novel calamity. Ere she fell, she had experienced a yet more cruel disaster, and they who overthrew her, afforded her still greater relief. For I affirm that the sedition subdued the city, and the Romans the sedition—a sedition much stronger than her walls. What was calamitous, may with propriety be ascribed to her own people; what was just, to the Romans. But let every one form his opinion agreeably to the facts.

2. While affairs in the city were in this posture, Titus, with a select detachment of horse, rode round the wall, in order to ascertain against what quarter he should direct his attack. Utterly at a loss on what side to assail them, there being no access at any point through the ravines, while, on the other side, the first wall appeared too firm for the engines, he determined to make the assault opposite to the monument of John, the high priest; for at this point the outer bulwark was lower, and the second was not connected, the builders having neglected to fortify those places where the new town was thinly inhabited; but there was easy access to the third wall, through which he designed to capture the upper town, and through the Antonia, the temple. But, in the mean time, while he was riding round, one of his friends, by name Nicanor, who had approached too near with Josephus, was wounded by an arrow in the left shoulder, when attempting to address those on the ramparts, to whom he was not unknown, upon the subject of peace.

Cæsar thus made aware of their headstrong violence, since they would not refrain even from those who went to them with a view to their safety, was roused to the vigorous prosecution of the siege. He at once gave the legions permission to lay waste the suburbs, and ordered them to collect the timber together for the construction of mounds. Distributing his army into three divisions for the works, he placed the javelin-men and archers in the intervals between the mounds; and in front of these the scorpions, catapults, and stone-projectors, at once to check the sallies of the enemy against the works, and curb those who endeavoured to impede them from the ramparts. The trees being felled, the suburbs were quickly stripped; but while the timber was being collected for the mounds, and the whole army diligently engaged in the operations, the Jews, on the other hand, were not inactive. The people, familiarized to rapine and bloodshed, at this period resumed their confidence; indulging the hope that they would be allowed a respite, while their oppressors were occupied with an external foe, and would be enabled to wreak their vengeance on the guilty, should the Romans be victorious.

3. John, meanwhile, though his partisans were burning with impatience to encounter the enemy outside, through fear of Simon, remained quiet. Simon, however, as he lay nearer the scene of attack, was not inactive. He disposed his engines upon the ramparts, as well those which had formerly been taken from Cestius, as those which had fallen into their hands when they mastered the garrison of the Antonia. The possession of these, however, was of no avail to the generality, owing to their unskilfulness: a few only who had been

instructed by the deserters, could work them, though inefficiently. But they assailed from the wall, with stones and arrows, those who were raising the mounds; and rushing out in bodies, engaged them in close combat. The workmen were protected from the darts by hurdles, stretched over palisades, while the engines defended them against the sallies of the besieged. Admirable as were the engines constructed by all the legions, those of the tenth were of peculiar excellence. Their scorpions were of greater power, and their stone-projectors larger; and with these they not only kept in check the sallying parties, but those also on the ramparts. The stones that were thrown were of the weight of a talent, and had a range of two furlongs and more. The shock, not only to such as first met it, but even to those beyond them, for a considerable distance, was irresistible. The Jews, however, at the first could guard against the stone; for its approach was intimated, not only to the ear by its whiz, but also, being white, to the eye, by its brightness. Accordingly they had watchmen posted on the towers, who gave warning when the engine was discharged, and the stone projected, calling out in their native language, "The Son is coming;" on which those towards whom it was directed would separate, and lie down before it reached them. Thus it happened that, owing to these precautions, the stone fell harmless. It then occurred to the Romans to blacken it; when taking a more successful aim, as it was no longer equally discernible in its approach, they swept down many at a single discharge. But, though suffering severely, the Jews did not allow the Romans to raise their mounds undisturbed, but by every species of artifice and daring, night and day, held them in check.

4. The works being completed, the engineers measured the distance to the wall with lead and line, which they threw from the mounds—for they could not accomplish it otherwise, as they were exposed to missiles from above;—and, finding that the battering-engines could reach it, they brought them up; on which Titus, having disposed his artillery nearer, that the operations of the battering-rams might not be impeded by those on the wall, ordered them to play. Suddenly, from three different quarters, a tremendous noise echoed round the city; a cry was raised by those within, and the factions themselves were seized with like alarm. Seeing that they were exposed to a common danger, both now turned their thoughts to a common defence. The adverse parties, crying aloud to each other, that "they were doing all they could to serve the enemy; whereas it was essential, even though God should not grant them permanent unanimity, for the present at least to defer their mutual contentions, and unite in arms against the

Romans," Simon proclaimed impunity to those who wished to pass from the temple to the wall; and John, though distrusting him, acquiesced. The two factions, therefore, burying in oblivion their hatred and private differences, became one body; and, disposing themselves around the ramparts, from thence threw showers of torches against the machines, and assailed, without intermission, those who impelled the storming engines. The more courageous, dashing out in bands, tore to pieces the hurdles of the machines, and falling on those employed at them, though they gained but little by skill, generally had the advantage from intrepid daring.

Titus always came up in person to succour those who were hard pressed, and disposing the horsemen and archers on either side of the engines, repelled those who were bringing up fire, drove back others who assailed them from the towers, and rendered the storming engines effective. The wall, however, did not yield to the strokes, save that the battering-ram of the fifteenth legion knocked down the corner of a tower. The wall, notwithstanding, remained uninjured; for it was not immediately involved in the danger of the tower, which projected considerably before it, and could not easily bring down with it any of the main wall.

5. The Jews, having paused for a little in their sallies, and watching their opportunity when the Romans, who imagined that they had retired through exhaustion and fear, were dispersed about the works and through their encampments, poured forth with their whole force through a gate scarcely discernible near the tower Hippicus, carrying fire to burn the works, and bent on advancing up to the very entrenchments of the Romans. At their shouts, those near instantly fell into order, while others from a distance ran up. The daring of the Jews, however, anticipated the discipline of the Romans, and having routed those whom they first encountered, they pressed hard on those who were forming in body. A terrible conflict now ensued around the engines, one party striving to set them on fire, the other to prevent them. On both sides a confused clamour arose, and many in the front ranks fell. The Jews by dint of desperate determination were gaining the mastery, and the flames were already laying hold upon the works; and the whole would in all probability have been reduced to ashes, together with the machines, had not the main body of the picked troops from Alexandria maintained their ground, acting with a gallantry which exceeded their reputation (for they proved their superiority on that occasion even to those of greater renown) until Cæsar, at the head of the most able-bodied of his cavalry, dashed upon the enemy. Twelve of the foremost he slew with his own hand;

the remainder, alarmed at their fate, giving way, he followed, and drove them all into the city, and rescued the works from the flames. One of the Jews, happening to be taken prisoner in this engagement, Titus commanded him to be crucified before the wall, in hope that the rest, terrified at the spectacle, might be led to surrender. After the retreat, John, the general of the Idumæans, while conversing in front of the ramparts with a soldier of his acquaintance, was wounded in the breast with an arrow by an Arabian, and instantly expired. His death was to the Jews a source of the deepest regret, as it was of sorrow to the insurgents ; for he was equally distinguished for ability and resolution.

CHAPTER VII.

1. ON the ensuing night an unexpected commotion arose among the Romans. Titus had given directions for the construction of three towers fifty cubits high, to be placed upon the several mounds, in order that he might from them repel those on the ramparts. One of these fell of itself in the middle of the night. The crash was tremendous, and the troops, seized with terror, and supposing that the enemy were on the point of attacking them, all ran to arms. Dismay and confusion spread through the legions. What had occurred none could tell ; and they were long left in painful suspense. But as no enemy appeared, they began to fear one another, and each anxiously demanded the pass-word from his neighbour, as if the Jews had been actually in their camp. Thus they continued, like men beset by a panic, until Titus, having learned what had happened, gave directions to make it generally known. And thus, though with difficulty, was the alarm allayed.

2. But, stoutly as the Jews held out against everything else, they suffered severely from the towers ; whence they were shot at, as well by the lighter engines, as by the javelin-men, archers, and slingers. These they could not reach, owing to the height of their position ; while to destroy the towers was impracticable, their weight making it no easy matter to overturn them, and the iron with which they were covered rendering it impossible to set them on fire. If, on the other hand, they withdrew beyond the range of the missiles, they could no longer impede the strokes of the battering-rams, which by their

unintermitted shocks were gradually taking effect. At length the wall began to give way before Nico (*the Conqueror*)—so the Jews themselves called the largest engine, from its beating down all before it;—they had long been completely worn out with passing their nights at a distance from the city, engaged in fighting and watching; and now, moreover, from an indolent spirit, and from the fatality which attended all their plans, they thought it superfluous to guard the wall, as two others would still remain: accordingly the greater part of them slackened in their exertions and retired; and, the Romans having mounted where Nico had effected a breach, they all abandoned their posts, and retreated to the second wall; when those who had scaled the ramparts opened the gates, and admitted the entire army. The Romans having thus, on the fifteenth day, which was the seventh of the month Artemisius, become masters of the first wall, laid a great part of it in ruins, as they did the northern quarters of the city, which Cestius had formerly demolished.

3. Titus now transferred his camp to a place within the wall, styled the Camp of the Assyrians, occupying the entire interval as far as the Kedron, but keeping at such a distance from the second rampart as to be out of range of the missiles, and immediately commenced the attack. The Jews, dividing their forces, made a vigorous defence from the wall; John and his party fighting from the Antonia, from the north colonnade of the temple, and in front of the monuments of king Alexander; while Simon's band, intercepting the assault near John's monument, manned the intervening space as far as the gate through which the water was introduced to the tower Hippicus. Frequently rushing forth from the gates, they engaged hand to hand; and, when driven back to the wall, though defeated in close combat, owing to their ignorance of the Roman tactics, they had the advantage in their contests from the ramparts. Strength, combined with skill, encouraged the Romans: a daring spirit, nourished by fear, united with their natural fortitude under calamities, emboldened the Jews. They still cherished a hope of safety, as the Romans did of a speedy conquest. Fatigue was unfelt on either side; but attacks, and conflicts from the ramparts, and uninterrupted sallies in bands, wore out the day; nor was any species of warfare left untried. Commencing with the dawn, night scarcely parted them. On both sides night was a sleepless time, and still more oppressive than the day; the one party in dread every moment lest the wall should be taken, the other afraid that their antagonists would assail their camp. Thus passing the night in arms, both were ready for battle at the first break of day.

Among the Jews the strife was, who should lead the way to danger, and thus recommend himself to his officers. And such was the reverence and awe with which they regarded Simon in particular, and such the deference paid him by every one of those under his orders, that they were ready to a man, even to die by their own hand at his command. The Romans, on the other hand, were incited to valour by the habit of victory, and desuetude of defeat, by repeated campaigns, by uninterrupted exercises, by the vastness of their empire, and, above all, by Titus, who was ever and everywhere present with all. For, then to play the coward, when Cæsar was with them and fighting at their side, seemed dreadful; and he who fought bravely had one to witness his valour who would also reward it. Nay, it was an advantage even to be known to Cæsar as a gallant soldier. On this account many in their enthusiasm distinguished themselves beyond their natural powers.

Thus about this time, when the Jews on one occasion had drawn up in a strong compact body before the wall, and while the armies on both sides were as yet engaged in distant combat, Longinus, a cavalry soldier, rushed forward from the Roman lines, and dashed into the midst of the Jewish phalanx. Their ranks were broken by his charge, and two of the bravest fell beneath his arm. The one he pierced in front as he advanced against him; the other, when endeavouring to escape, he transfixes through the side with the spear which he drew from the body of his comrade. He then retreated in triumph to his own party out of the midst of his foes. So distinguished, accordingly, was the reputation he acquired for valour by this exploit, that many were led to emulate his gallantry.

The Jews, regardless of suffering, studied only what injury they could inflict; and death itself seemed light indeed to them, could they but involve an enemy in their fall. But Cæsar regarded not less the safety of his soldiers than the success of his arms; and pronouncing inconsiderate impetuosity mere desperation, and that alone to be valour which was coupled with forethought, and a care for the safety of the actor, he ordered his troops to run no personal risk with a view to show their bravery.

4. He now brought up the storming-engine against the central tower of the northern wall, where one of the Jews, a crafty fellow, by name Castor, lay in ambush with ten others of like character, the rest having been driven off by the archers. For some time these men remained quiet, crouched beneath the breastworks; but as the tower began to totter, they rose up, when Castor, stretching out his hands in an attitude of supplication, called on Cæsar, and in piteous

accents implored his clemency. Titus, in the simplicity of his heart, believed him, and hoping that the Jews were at length beginning to repent, stopped the playing of the ram, and forbade the archers to shoot at the suppliants. He then directed Castor to acquaint him with his wishes. The Jew replying that he desired to come down under promise of protection, Titus answered that he was delighted at his prudent resolve, but would be still more so, if all were similarly inclined, and he was ready to give a pledge of protection to the whole city. 'Five of the ten joined in the pretended supplication, the others cried out, that they would never be the vassals of the Romans, so long as it was permitted them to die free. And the dispute being prolonged for a considerable time, the assault was thereby suspended.

Meanwhile Castor, sending to Simon, told him to deliberate at his leisure on the measures which the emergency demanded, as he could keep the Roman general in play for a considerable time. But while forwarding this message, he was to all appearance urging the recusants to accept the proffered pledge. They on the other hand, as if moved with indignation, brandished their naked swords above the battlements, and, striking their breast-plates, fell down as if slain. Titus and those about him, filled with amazement at the fortitude of the men, and being unable accurately to see from below what had taken place, admired their courage, and compassionated their fate.

During this parley, Castor was wounded near the nose by an arrow. Drawing it out immediately, and showing it to Titus, he complained of unjust treatment. Cæsar sternly rebuked the archer, and directed Josephus, who was standing beside him, to go forward and offer Castor protection. But Josephus not only declined going himself, assured that the suppliants had no good purpose, but also restrained those of his friends who were anxious to execute the order. Æneas however, one of the deserters, said that he would go; and Castor calling out for some one to receive the money which he had brought with him, Æneas, opening the folds of his robe, ran towards him with the greater eagerness. Castor, meanwhile, taking up a stone, threw it at Æneas, who dexterously avoided it; but it wounded another soldier who had come up. Cæsar, seeing through the trick, became sensible that in war compassion is injurious, rigorous measures affording less room for artifice; and, angry at this mockery, ordered the engines to be worked with greater vigour. The tower giving way, Castor and his associates set fire to it, and, leaping through the flame into the vault underneath, again inspired the Romans, who concluded that they had plunged into the fire, with an exalted idea of their fortitude.



CHAPTER VIII.

1. ON the fifth day after the reduction of the first wall Cæsar stormed the second at this point ; and as the Jews fled from it, he entered with a thousand men, and the select band which he retained about his person, at that part of the new town where were the wool-marts, the braziers' shops, and the clothes-market, and where the streets led obliquely to the ramparts. Had he immediately either broken down a larger portion of the wall, or, by right of war, on his entrance, laid in ruins what he had made himself master of, no loss, I conceive, would have attended his conquest. But, in the hope that his reluctance to injure, though it was in his power to do so, would shame the Jews, he did not widen the breach to facilitate a retreat ; supposing that those whom he treated with kindness would harbour no designs against him.

On entering, therefore, he would not allow any of those who fell into his hands to be put to death, or their houses burned. To the insurgents, if they were willing to fight without damage to the people, he offered permission to do so ; while, at the same time, he promised the people to restore their property. For he made it a leading object to preserve the city for himself, and the temple for the city. The people indeed had long been ready to listen to his representations ; but to the warlike his humanity seemed weakness, and these overtures were regarded as proofs of his inability to reduce the remainder of the town. Threatening death to any of the populace who should breathe a word about a surrender, and butchering all who even casually spoke of peace, they attacked the Romans who had entered. Some confronted them in the streets, some assailed them from the houses ; while others, rushing forth without the wall through the upper gates, so disconcerted the guards at the ramparts, that they sprang down from the towers and retreated to their camp. Loud cries arose from those within, who were surrounded by enemies on all sides, and from those without, in alarm for their comrades who had been left behind.

The Jews, constantly increasing in numbers, and possessing many advantages in their knowledge of the streets, wounded many of the enemy, and drove them before them by repeated charges ; while the Romans continued to resist mainly from sheer necessity, as they could not escape in mass owing to the narrowness of the breach ; and, had

not Titus brought up fresh succours, all who had entered would probably have been cut down. Stationing his archers at the ends of the streets, and taking post himself where the enemy were in greatest force, he kept them at bay with missiles; Domitius Sabinus, who in this engagement, as in others, showed himself a brave man, aiding his exertions. Cæsar held his ground, plying his arrows incessantly, and checking the advance of the Jews, until the last of the soldiers had retired.

2. Thus were the Romans, after gaining possession of the second wall, driven out. The spirits of the war party in the city, elated by this success, rose to the highest pitch; for they were persuaded that the Romans would not again venture into the town, and that, if they advanced to battle themselves, they would be invincible. For God was blinding their minds because of their transgressions; and they neither perceived how much greater was the force which the Romans still had left than that which had been expelled, nor the famine that was creeping upon them. For they still could feed upon the public miseries, and drink the blood of the city. The good had long been suffering from want, and many were already sinking under a scarcity of necessaries; but the destruction of the people the factions deemed a relief to themselves. For they desired that those alone should be preserved who were averse to peace, and wished for life only to employ it against the Romans; and they rejoiced in the wasting away of the opposite party, regarding them as a mere encumbrance. Such were their feelings towards those within; while, having manned the breach, and walled it up with their bodies, they checked the Romans, who were again attempting an entrance.

For three days they kept the enemy at bay, maintaining a stout defence; but on the fourth, unable to withstand the intrepid assaults of Titus, they were obliged to fall back in the same direction as before. He, accordingly, once more became master of the wall, the whole northern division of which he immediately threw down; and, having placed garrisons in the towers of the southern quarter, he turned his thoughts to an attack on the third.

CHAPTER IX.

1. **TITUS** now determined for a short time to suspend the operations, and afford the insurgents an interval for deliberation, if perchance the demolition of the second wall, or the dread of famine, might induce them to surrender, as the fruits of rapine could not long support them. The cessation he employed for his own purposes. The stated day for distributing pay among the troops having arrived, he directed the officers to draw out the force, and count out the money to each man in view of the enemy. The men, as was the custom, taking their arms from the cases in which they had hitherto been covered, advanced in their accoutrements; the cavalry leading their horses decked out in their trappings.

The space in front of the city gleamed far and wide with silver and gold; and nothing could be more gratifying to the Romans, or more terrifying to the enemy, than that spectacle. The whole of the ancient wall and the northern quarter of the temple were crowded with spectators, and the houses were to be seen filled with people on the look-out; nor was there a spot in the city which was not covered with multitudes. When they beheld the entire force thus assembled in one place, and the beauty of their arms, and the admirable order of the men, even the most daring were struck with fearful dismay. And I cannot but persuade myself that at that sight the insurgents would have changed their measures, had not the excessive calamities which they had inflicted on the people led them to despair of pardon from the Romans. But, as punishment and death impended if they desisted, they thought it far better to die in battle. And fate prevailed to destroy the innocent with the guilty, and the city with the sedition.

2. In four days the several legions of the Romans had all received their pay. On the fifth, as no pacific overtures had come from the Jews, Titus formed the legions into two divisions, and commenced raising embankments, both at the Antonia and at John's monument. At the latter point he designed to carry the upper town, and the temple through the former; for, unless the temple was secured, the city could not be retained without danger. Accordingly he proceeded to erect two mounds at each of these two places, one being allotted to each legion. Those at work beside the monument the Idumæans, and the troops of Simon, impeded by repeated sallies;

while those before the Antonia were obstructed by John and his associates, in conjunction with the Zealots.

Success attended their efforts, not only in hand-to-hand encounters, where they fought from higher ground, but with their engines also, which they had now learned to use, daily practice having gradually fostered their skill. They had three hundred scorpions and forty stone-projectors, by means of which they rendered the construction of the mounds a matter of greater difficulty to the Romans. Titus, feeling that he was as deeply interested in the preservation as in the destruction of the city, omitted not, while he pressed the siege, to urge more prudent counsels on the Jews. With his operations he blended advice: and, sensible that an address is oftentimes more effectual than arms, he not only exhorted them himself to consult their safety by the surrender of the city, which was indeed already taken, but also despatched Josephus to confer with them in their native language:—thinking that possibly they might yield to the remonstrances of a fellow-countryman.

§. Josephus, accordingly, making a circuit of the wall, and endeavouring to find some spot, beyond the range of missiles, where he might still be within hearing, at great length entreated them “to spare themselves, and the people;—to spare their country and their temple;—and not manifest towards them a greater apathy than was exhibited by foreigners. The Romans,” he said, “though not participating in them, respected the sacred things of their enemies, and had thus far withheld their hands from them; whilst those who had been brought up in them and, should they be preserved, would alone enjoy them, were bent on their destruction. Their firmest walls they saw prostrate, and that alone remaining, which was weaker than those which had fallen. They knew that the power of the Romans was irresistible, and that to serve them was no novelty to the Jews. If, indeed, to wage war for freedom were honourable, they should have contended for it earlier; but when once they had succumbed, and had for so long a period submitted, then to shake off the yoke, was the part of men who morbidly courted death, not of lovers of liberty.

“To disdain humbler masters were perhaps admissible; but not those who ruled the world. For what had escaped the Romans, except perhaps some spot useless through heat or cold? Fortune had everywhere passed over to them; and God, who carries the sceptre of empire round from nation to nation, was now resting over Italy. It was an established law, and of the greatest force among brutes, as among men, to yield to the more powerful, and that the ascendancy should belong to those who are preeminent in arms.

“Accordingly, their ancestors, who were much superior in mind and body, as well as in resources generally, had submitted to the Romans;—a thing they never would have endured, had they not known that God was with them. As to themselves, what did they confide in to induce them still to resist, when for the most part their city was already taken, and when those within it, though their walls remained, were suffering under a worse calamity than capture? For it did not escape the Romans that there raged in the town a famine, which was now consuming the people, but would soon consume those who bore arms as well. For even should the Romans desist from the siege and not attack the city sword in hand, a war beyond the strife of arms pressed upon them within, every hour gathering strength, unless indeed they could raise their weapons and fight against famine, and were able, alone of men, to subdue even the claims of nature.”

He added, moreover, that “it would be well to alter their proceedings ere their calamities became irremediable, and lean to salutary counsels while opportunity remained. The Romans would bear no grudge against them for what had occurred, if they did not persevere in their contumacy; for they were naturally lenient in victory, and to the gratification of their resentment would prefer measures of utility—measures which were incompatible alike with depopulating the city, and with reducing the country to a desert. It was for these reasons that Cæsar, even at this late period, wished to grant them protection. For should he take the city by storm, he would slaughter them to a man, and especially as having rejected his offers when in the lowest depths of calamity. That the third wall would be quickly carried, those which had already fallen gave proof. But even were that bulwark impregnable, the famine was fighting for the Romans and against them.”

4. Josephus, while thus persuading them, was by many derided from the ramparts, by many loaded with execrations, and by some assailed with missiles. Finding that these direct recommendations were disregarded, he passed to the history of their nation. “Miserable men!” he cried; “are you so unmindful of your own proper allies, as to war against the Romans with mere weapons and human hands? What other nation have we thus conquered? When does God, who created, fail to avenge the Jews, if they be wronged? Will you not look back and see what that place is from which you issue forth to battle, and how mighty an Ally you have polluted? Will you not recall to mind supernatural exploits of your fathers, and remember what mighty enemies this holy place has in by-gone times destroyed for us?”

“For my own part, I shudder when declaring the works of God to such unworthy ears. But listen, nevertheless, that you may know that you war not only against the Romans, but even against God. Nechaos, who bore also the name of Pharaoh, at that time king of Egypt, came down with a prodigious band and carried off queen Sarah, the mother of our race. And what, then, did her husband Abraham, our progenitor? Did he take vengeance on the ravisher with the sword?—and yet he had three hundred and eighteen prefects under him, each at the head of a countless host. Or did he deem them nothing, if unaided by God, and, uplifting pure hands towards this place, which you have now polluted, enlist the unconquered Supporter on his side? And was not our queen sent back the next morning, uninjured, to her consort; while the Egyptian, revering the place which you have stained with the blood of your countrymen, and terrified by nocturnal visions, fled, making presents of silver and gold to the Hebrews, beloved of God? Shall I pass in silence, or allude to, the removal of our fathers into Egypt, who, lorded over, and cowering under kings of alien birth for four hundred years, when they might have vindicated their cause with their weapons and their hands, yet committed themselves to God?

“Who has not heard of Egypt overrun by every kind of creature, and wasted with every disease?—of the land yielding no fruit, the Nile failing, the ten successive plagues?—of our fathers, because of these things, sent forth under escort, without bloodshed and without danger, God conducting them as the future guardians of his temple? Did not Palestine, moreover, and the graven image Dagon, rue our holy ark carried off by the Assyrians? Did not the whole nation of those who had removed it rue the deed, ulcerated in their loins, and their bowels borne down with their food, till, with the hands with which they stole it, they brought it back, with sound of cymbals and of timbrels, and with various expiations propitiating the sanctuary? God it was who in these matters was a leader to our fathers, because, employing neither hand nor weapon, they committed the issue to His decision. When Senacherib, king of the Assyrians, with all Asia in his train, encamped around this city, fell he by human hands? Were not those hands, resting from arms, lifted up in prayer, and did not an angel of God, in one night, destroy that countless host? And when the Assyrian arose in the morning, did he not find a hundred and eighty-five thousand dead, and with the remnant flee from the Hebrews, who were neither armed, nor in pursuit?

“You have heard, moreover, of the captivity in Babylon, and that our people, after passing seventy years there in exile, did not shake

off the yoke and recover their liberty, until Cyrus granted it in gratitude to God. They were accordingly sent forth by him, and re-established the temple-worship of their Ally. In fine, no instance can be adduced of our ancestors having triumphed by arms, or failed of success without them, when they committed their cause to God. When they remained within their own borders, they conquered, as seemed good to their Judge; when they took the field, they were invariably defeated. Thus, when the king of Babylon laid siege to this city, Zedekiah, our sovereign, having, contrary to the prophetic warnings of Jeremiah, given him battle, was taken prisoner himself, and saw the city and the temple levelled with the ground. Yet, how much more forbearing was that prince than your rulers, and his subjects than you! For, though Jeremiah proclaimed aloud that they were hateful to God for their transgressions against him, and that they would be carried away captive if they did not surrender the city, neither the king nor the people put him to death. But you, to pass by what has occurred within the walls—for I should be unable adequately to describe your enormities—heap execrations on me, who exhort you to save yourselves, and assail me with missiles, exasperated at being reminded of your misdeeds, and not brooking even the mention of those things, the realities of which you daily perpetrate.

“ Again, when our ancestors went forth in arms against Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, who was then sitting down before the city, and who had been guilty of many indignities towards the Deity, they were cut to pieces in the battle, and the city plundered by the enemy, and the sanctuary left desolate three years and six months. But why need I speak of other instances? Who enlisted the Romans against our country? Was it not the impiety of its inhabitants? And whence took our servitude its rise? Was it not in a sedition of our ancestors, when the madness of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and their mutual dissensions, brought Pompey upon the city, and God subjected to the Romans those who were unworthy of liberty? Accordingly, after a siege of three months they surrendered, though they had not sinned against the laws and the sanctuary so grievously as you, and though they possessed much greater resources for war. And do we not know the fate of Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, under whose reign God again vexed the people for their transgressions by the capture of the city; and Herod, son of Antipater, brought in Sosius, and Sosius the Roman army, by whom they were shut up in siege during six months, until in retribution for their sins they were captured, and the city plundered by the enemy?

“Thus it appears, that arms have never been granted to our nation. To war is to incur inevitable disaster. For, doubtless, it is the duty of those who inhabit a holy place to commit all to the Divine disposal, and, when they seek to conciliate the Judge on high, then to look with contempt on human aid. But as for you, what have you done that has been blessed by the Lawgiver? Or what have you left undone that has been cursed by Him? How much more impious are you than those who were more speedily subdued! Secret sins you have not disdained—thefts, I mean, and treacheries, and adulteries—while in rapine and murders you vie with each other, and cut out for yourselves new and strange paths of malignity. The temple is become a receptacle for all, and by native hands has this divine place been polluted, which even the Romans from afar revered, foregoing many of their own customs in deference to our law. And do you after this expect Him, thus impiously treated, to be your ally? Verily, ye are righteous suppliants, and with unsullied hands do ye appeal to your Defender! With such, I ween, our king besought aid against the Assyrian, when in one night God laid low that mighty host! And, doubtless, the deeds of the Romans are like those of the Assyrian, that you may hope for like vengeance also! Did not he receive money from your sovereign, on condition that he would spare the city, and then come down, in violation of his oaths, to burn the sanctuary? Whereas the Romans do but ask the customary tribute, which our fathers paid to theirs. Obtaining this, they neither destroy the city, nor touch the holy things. They concede to you every thing else—the freedom of your families, the security of your property, and the preservation of the sacred laws. It is madness, then, to expect that God should appear against the just, such as He did against the unjust.

“But, further, He knows how to inflict immediate vengeance, when necessary. Thus, He broke the Assyrians in pieces on the very first night of their encampment. So that, had He judged our generation also worthy of freedom, or the Romans of punishment, He would at once, as He did to the Assyrians, have laid His hand upon them, when Pompey interfered with our nation;—when, after him, Sosius came up;—when Vespasian was ravaging Galilee; and, lastly, now when Titus was approaching Jerusalem. And yet Magnus and Sosius, besides sustaining no injury, even carried the city by assault; while Vespasian actually entered on the imperial dignity in consequence of the war against you. For as for Titus, those very springs flow more copiously for him, which had previously dried up for you. For prior to his arrival, as you know, Siloam and all the fountains outside the

city had failed, insomuch that water was sold by the amphora ; while now they are so abundant for your enemies, as to suffice not only for themselves, and their cattle, but even for the gardens. This prodigy you experienced on a former occasion at the capture of the city, when the Babylonian before mentioned advanced with his army, and took and burned both the city and the sanctuary : though, in my opinion, the Jews of that age were not so deeply impious as you. I cannot, therefore, but think that God has withdrawn from the holy places, and taken His stand on the side of those against whom you are now in arms.

“ But shall a good man flee from the abode of wantonness, and abhor its inmates ? and do you persuade yourselves that God still remains with you in your evil courses—that God who sees all secret things, and hears what is buried in silence ? Yet what is there buried in silence among you, or what concealed ? Nay ; what is there that has not been exposed to your very foes ? For you make an ostentatious display of your enormities, and daily contend who shall be the worst ; making an exhibition of your iniquity as if it were virtue.

“ But, nevertheless, a path of safety is yet left, if you will. The Deity is easily pacified towards those who confess and repent. Oh ! iron-hearted men ! throw away your weapons ; take compassion upon your country, already on the point of destruction ! Turn, and behold the beauty of that which you are betraying ;—what a city ! what a temple ! the gifts of how many nations ! Against these, who guides the flames ? Who wishes that these should be no more ? And what more worthy of being preserved than these ? Obdurate beings, and more insensible than stones ! Even if you look not on these objects with the eyes of natural affection, yet at any rate pity your families, and let each of you have before his eyes children, and wife, and parents, ere long to be the victims of famine or of war.

“ I am aware, that I have a mother, a wife, a family not ignoble, and an ancient and illustrious house, involved in the danger ; and I may perhaps be thought on their account to tender you this advice. Put them to death ; take my blood as the price of your own safety ; I too am ready to die, if after my decease you will learn wisdom.”

CHAPTER X.

1. **THOUGH** Josephus thus with tears loudly appealed to them, the insurgents were neither moved to yield, nor deemed a change of measures safe. The people, however, were stimulated to desertion; and selling, some their property, others the most valuable of their treasures, for the smallest trifle, would swallow the gold pieces, that they might not be discovered by the brigands; and then, flying to the Romans, on discharging their bowels, they had a supply for their necessities; for Titus gave the greater part of them free passage into the country, whithersoever they would; and this the rather encouraged them to desertion, as they would be relieved from the evils within, and yet not enslaved by the Romans. The parties of John and Simon, however, guarded with greater diligence against the egress of these, than against the ingress of the Romans: and whoever furnished but a shadow of suspicion was instantly dispatched.

2. To the opulent, however, to remain in the city was equally fatal; for, under pretext of desertion, men were put to death for the sake of their property. The desperation of the insurgents kept pace with the progress of the famine; and both of these dread evils were daily more and more aggravated. For, as corn was nowhere exposed for sale, they would rush in and ransack the houses, and then, if any was discovered, they severely punished the owners as having denied the possession of it; if none was found, they tortured them as having the more carefully concealed it. The personal appearance of the unhappy men was a criterion of having it or not. If they were still vigorous, it was inferred that they had a supply; if emaciated, they were at once allowed to pass; and it was thought irrational to kill those who were soon to perish from hunger. Many privately exchanged all they were worth for a single measure of wheat, if they were rich; of barley, if they were poor. Then, shutting themselves up in the most retired recesses of their houses, some, from extremity of hunger, would eat the grain unprepared; others would cook it according as necessity and fear dictated. A table was nowhere spread, but, snatching the dough half-baked from the fire, they tore it in pieces.

3. Piteous was the way in which men lived, and deplorable the spectacle; the strong taking more than their share, the weak com-

plaining. Famine overpowers all affections of the mind ; but of none is it so subversive as of shame. What would at other times awaken reverence is in time of famine treated with contempt. Thus, wives would snatch the food from husbands, children from parents, and, what was of all most pitiable, mothers from the very mouths of their infants : and while these objects of their tenderest love were drooping in their arms, they did not scruple to deprive them of the vital drops. Nor, while eating such things, did they escape detection. Everywhere the insurgents hovered even over the booty thus acquired. When they observed a house shut up, this was an indication that the inmates were taking food ; and forthwith bursting open the doors, they rushed in, and squeezing the morsels almost out of their very throats, brought them up again. Old men were beaten, clutching their food, and women were dragged about by the hair, concealing what they had in their hands. Neither for the hoary head, nor for infancy, was compassion shown ; but, lifting up children with the morsels to which they clung, they dashed them to the ground. To those who had anticipated their irruption, and had already swallowed their intended spoil, they were still more cruel, as having been defrauded of their right.

They devised dreadful modes of torture for the discovery of food ; and treated their wretched victims with the utmost brutality. To extort the acknowledgment of a single loaf of bread, or to make them show where a single handful of barley-meal was secreted, they subjected them to tortures, the very recital of which would make one shudder. And yet these torturers were not themselves suffering from hunger : their cruelty would have been less, had it had the plea of necessity. They were but whetting their frenzy, and providing supplies against a future day. They would go to meet those who had crept out by night as far as the Roman guard, to gather wild plants and herbs, and, at the moment when they fancied themselves out of reach of the enemy, snatch from them what they had procured. And oftentimes, though they implored them, invoking even the awful name of God, to return a portion of what they had obtained at the peril of their lives, the smallest morsel was refused them ; and they had reason to congratulate themselves, that, while robbed, they were not also killed.

4. Such were the sufferings inflicted on the humbler classes by the satellites ; but the distinguished and affluent were brought before the tyrants. Of these, some were falsely accused of conspiracy, and executed : others, as designing to betray the city to the Romans. But the readiest method was, to suborn some informer to declare

that they had resolved to desert. He who had been stripped by Simon was turned over to John; and those who had been plundered by John fell into the hands of Simon. They pledged each other in turn in the blood of the populace, and shared among them the carcasses of their wretched victims. On the subject of pre-eminence they were at variance: in deeds of impiety they were agreed. For he who allowed no one to participate in the spoils of others' woes was deemed selfishly wicked: and he who did not participate mourned over his severance from the work of cruelty, as from some good.

5. But as it were impossible to relate their enormities in detail, I shall briefly state, that no other city ever endured similar calamities, and no generation ever existed more prolific in crime. For in the end they even disdained the Hebrew race, that they might appear less impious towards aliens. They confessed themselves to be, what they were, slaves, and the very dregs of society, the spurious and polluted spawn of the nation. They it was who overthrew the city, and compelled the reluctant Romans to record a melancholy triumph, and all but drew upon the temple the tardy flames. Nay, while from the upper town they beheld it burning, they neither grieved nor wept, though the Romans gave both these proofs of emotion. But of this we shall speak hereafter in its place, when we come to describe the circumstances.

CHAPTER XI.

1. MEANTIME the mounds were advancing under the superintendence of Titus, though the soldiers were severely galled from the ramparts. He now sent a detachment of horse to lie in ambush for those who went out through the ravines in quest of food. Among them were some who bore arms, and who were no longer satisfied with their plunder; but the greater part were of the poorer class, who were deterred from deserting by fears for their families. For they could not hope to elude the vigilance of the factions, if they attempted to escape with wives and children, nor could they endure to leave them to the brigands, to be butchered on their account. In these adventures, however, famine rendered them daring; and it remained for them, after proceeding unobserved as far as the enemy's

lines, to be taken prisoners. When caught, they resisted from necessity through dread of punishment; and after a conflict it seemed unseasonable to sue for mercy. Scourged, therefore, and tortured in every form, previous to death, they were crucified in front of the ramparts. Titus indeed looked upon their sufferings with compassion; five hundred each day, and occasionally more, being captured. Still, to dismiss those taken in arms he deemed unsafe; while to retain so many in custody he saw would be to place the guards themselves under ward. But what chiefly weighed with him was the hope that the Jews might possibly surrender at the spectacle, lest otherwise they should themselves be visited with similar punishment. The soldiers, through resentment and hatred, nailed the prisoners, for sport, one in one posture, and one in another; and so great was their number, that there was not space for the crosses, nor were there crosses for the bodies.

2. But so far were the insurgents from relenting at these sufferings, that they seduced the multitude into the belief that they were inflicted from the very opposite motive. For, dragging the relatives of the deserters to the wall, with such of the populace as were anxious to accept the proffered protection, they showed them what was endured by those who sought refuge with the Romans; stating that those who had been seized were suppliants, not captives. This, until the truth was known, detained in the city many who were eager to desert. Some, notwithstanding, fled immediately, as to certain punishment, esteeming death from their enemies a relief in comparison with famine. Titus, moreover, gave orders to cut off the hands of many of those who had been taken captive, that they might not be regarded as deserters, and that their calamity might attach credit to their story, and then sent them in to John and Simon, exhorting them, "now at least to pause, and not compel him to lay the city in ruins; but by repentance in the last extremity to preserve their own lives, and a city so distinguished, and a temple not to be profaned by aliens." At the same time he went the circuit of the mounds, urging on the workmen, as purposing ere long to follow up his threats with actions.

In reply to this message, they inveighed from the ramparts both against Cæsar himself and against his father; crying aloud that they despised death, having rightly preferred it to slavery; that while they breathed they would inflict every possible injury on the Romans; that men, who, as he said, were so soon to perish, need care little for their country; and that the world was a more suitable temple for God than theirs. But this would yet be preserved by Him who

dwelt therein ; and, having Him for their ally, they derided every menace unsupported by actions ; for the event was with God." With these retorts they intermixed loud invectives.

3. In the meantime Antiochus Epiphanes arrived with a considerable reinforcement of heavy-armed men, and among them a body-guard of Macedonians, so called, all of the same age, tall, just emerged from puberty, accoutred, moreover, and disciplined after the Macedonian fashion ; from which circumstance in fact they derived their appellation, most of them not possessing the right of birth. Of all the monarchs who owned the Roman sway, the king of Commagene enjoyed the highest degree of prosperity, ere he tasted reverse. Yet in advanced life he also furnished proof that none should be pronounced happy before death. His son, who had arrived while his father's fortunes were at their zenith, expressed his surprise that the Romans should be so dilatory in attacking the ramparts. Endowed with a martial spirit, and by nature adventurous, he was withal so athletic, that his daring was seldom unsuccessful. Titus replying with a smile, "There is a fair field for everybody," Antiochus rushed, without further preparation, at the head of his Macedonians, to the wall. Such was his own personal strength and skill, that he could ward off the missiles of the Jews, while assailing them with his arrows : but his young comrades in arms, with few exceptions, were all roughly handled. For, through respect for their engagement, they maintained the contest with emulous ardour, and at length retired, many of them wounded, and bearing in mind that even genuine Macedonians, if they are to conquer, must have Alexander's fortune.

4. Though the Romans commenced their mounds on the twelfth of the month Artemisius, they were scarcely completed on the twenty-ninth, after seventeen days of unremitted toil. For the four mounds which were raised were of immense magnitude. One of those at the Antonia was thrown up by the fifth legion, opposite to the middle of the reservoir called Struthios ; and the other by the twelfth legion at the distance of about twenty cubits. The tenth legion, which was considerably apart from these, was occupied on the northern quarter, and by the reservoir designated Amygdalon ; and about thirty cubits from thence the fifteenth legion, at the high-priest's monument.

The engines were at length brought up. John had already undermined from within the space between the Antonia and the mounds, supporting the ground above the excavation with upright beams, so as to leave the works of the Romans suspended. He now introduced timber smeared with pitch and bitumen, and set the mass on fire ; and, the supports being consumed, the mine gave way in a mass, and the

mounds fell in with a tremendous crash. At first dense volumes of smoke arose, intermingled with the dust, the fire being smothered by the ruins; but at length, the materials which repressed it being eaten through, a vivid flame burst forth. The Romans were struck with consternation at this sudden blow, and disheartened by the ingenuity of the contrivance: and this, occurring when they already fancied victory within their grasp, damped their hopes of ultimate success. To attempt to arrest the flames seemed useless, when, even should they be extinguished, the mounds were swallowed up.

5. Two days after, Simon and his party made an effort to destroy the other mounds also; for the Romans had brought up their engines in that quarter, and were already shaking the wall. One Tephthæus of Garsis, a city of Galilee, and Megassarus, one of Mariamne's state-attendants, snatching up torches, rushed out upon the engines, accompanied by an Adiabeanian, son of Nabatæus, called from his misfortune Chagiras, which signifies lame. Than these men none more daring, during that war, sallied from the town, or inspired deeper terror; for, as if running out into the midst of friends, and not on a hostile band, they neither feared, nor paused, nor turned aside; but, dashing in through the midst of the foe, they applied the torches to the machines. Though assailed with missiles, and thrust at with swords on every side, they moved not from the scene of danger, until the fire had seized the engines. The flames now ascending, the Romans ran in a mass from their encampments to the rescue; while the Jews opposed them from the ramparts, and hand to hand, and prodigal of their own lives, encountered those who were endeavouring to extinguish the conflagration.

The Romans sought to drag the rams out of the fire, the hurdles over them being in a blaze; while the Jews, heedless of the flames, seized them in turn, and grasping the iron of the ram, red-hot as it was, maintained their hold. From the machines the fire passed over to the mounds, and forestalled those who were coming to the defence; on which the Romans, encircled by the flames, and despairing of the preservation of the works, retired to their camp. The Jews, their numbers continually augmenting, as those in the town crowded to their aid, pressed on, and, flushed with success, dashed forward with uncontrolled impetuosity: and, advancing to the very entrenchments, engaged at length hand to hand with the sentries.

In front of a Roman camp is stationed a body of men under arms, who are relieved in turn, and with regard to whom there is a severe law, that he who quits his post under any pretext whatsoever dies. These men, accordingly, preferring rather to fall with honour than

suffer with infamy, stood firm. Ashamed at the critical position in which their comrades were placed, many who had fled returned, and, disposing the scorpions along the wall, checked the crowd of recruits issuing from the town, who had made no provision either for safety or defence ; for the Jews attacked hand to hand all they met with, and, rushing bodily on the points of their weapons, heedless of their own safety, struck at their antagonists. And success attended their efforts, not more from their deeds, than their intrepidity ; the Romans giving way to daring, rather than from actual loss.

6. Titus now arrived from the Antonia, whither he had repaired to look out for a site for other mounds, and severely reprimanded his troops. " After making themselves masters of the enemy's fortifications, they had allowed their own to be endangered, and were themselves in the predicament of a besieged force, having let loose the Jews as from a prison against themselves." He then with his picked band made a circuit, and took the enemy in flank. The Jews, though attacked in front as well, yet turned and resolutely faced him. The hostile ranks became intermixed, and, blinded by the dust and deafened by the clamour, neither side could any longer distinguish friend from foe. The Jews, not so much by strength, as from despair of safety, maintained the action : regard for glory, for their arms, and for Cæsar foremost in danger, nerved the Romans. So that I am persuaded, that, in the excess of their rage, they would at length have swept away the entire Jewish host, had not the latter, anticipating the turn of the engagement, retreated into the city. Their mounds, however, having been demolished, the Romans were dejected, having lost in one hour the fruit of their protracted toil ; and many were led to despair of carrying the town by the ordinary contrivances.

CHAPTER XII.

1. Titus now held a consultation with his officers. The more ardent were of opinion that he should bring up his entire force, and endeavour to carry the ramparts by storm ; for hitherto a section only of his army had been engaged with the Jews, but were they to attack them in mass, they would not be able to resist their onset, as they would be overwhelmed by the missiles. Of the more cautious, some were for reconstructing the mounds ; whilst others advised, that,

letting these alone, they should sit down, guarding merely against the egress of the besieged, and the introduction of supplies; and leaving the city to the famine, avoid any direct collision with the foe. For there was no contending with men actuated by despair, whose prayer it was, that they might fall by the sword, and to whom was reserved, were that prayer unanswered, a more disastrous fate.

To Titus, however, it seemed unbefitting to remain totally inactive with so large a force, while, to contend with men who would soon destroy each other, appeared superfluous. He at the same time pointed out the difficulty of throwing up mounds, from the want of materials, and the still greater difficulty of guarding against the sallies of the besieged. "To encompass the city with his army, from its great extent, and from obstacles of situation, would not be easy; besides that it would lay them open to the attacks of the enemy. They might guard the open approaches, but the Jews, through necessity, and knowledge of the localities, would discover hidden paths; and, should provisions be clandestinely introduced, the siege would be still further protracted. Delay, it was to be feared, would diminish the glory of success: for though time could accomplish everything, yet celerity was essential to renown. If, however, they wished to combine expedition with safety, they must throw a wall of circumvallation round the whole city; for thus alone could all the outlets be obstructed; and the Jews would then either surrender the city, in utter despair of preservation, or, wasted by famine, yield an easy triumph. As to other matters, he would not remain inactive, but would be careful to re-construct the mounds, when those who might oppose their progress had become enfeebled. If it seemed to any a great and arduous undertaking, let him reflect, that it ill-beseemed Romans to employ themselves in aught that was trivial; and that to accomplish any thing great without labour was no easy thing for any save God alone."

2. Having with these arguments satisfied the minds of his officers, he ordered them to distribute the troops to the work. The soldiers, seized with preternatural enthusiasm, partitioned the circuit of the wall, and not only the legions, but also the cohorts which composed them, vied with one another. The private studied to please the decurion, the decurion the centurion, and he the tribune; while the emulation of the tribunes extended to the generals: Cæsar himself presiding over the rivalry of these; for he went round in person frequently every day, and inspected the work. Commencing at the camp of the Assyrians, where his own tent was pitched, he drew the wall to the lower Cænopolis, and thence through the Kedron to the

Mount of Olives. Then bending back towards the south, he encompassed the mount as far as the rock called Peristereon, and the adjoining hill, which overhangs the ravine near Siloam. Thence inclining towards the west, he went down into the valley of the Fountain, beyond which he ascended by the monument of the high-priest Ananus, and, taking in the mount where Pompey encamped, turned to the north, proceeding as far as a hamlet, called "the house of Erebinths;" passing which, he enclosed Herod's monument, and on the east once more united it to his own camp at the point whence it commenced.

The wall was in length forty furlongs, wanting one. Attached to it on the outside were thirteen forts, whose united circumferences measured ten furlongs. The whole was built in three days; and thus a work, which might well have occupied months, was completed with a celerity that exceeds belief. Having enclosed the city with a wall, and placed troops in the forts, he went round in person at the first watch of the night, and made his observations; the second he committed to Alexander; while the third was allotted to the commanders of the legions. The sentries took their rest by lot, and during the entire night paced the intervals between the forts.

3. All egress being now intercepted, every hope of safety to the Jews was utterly cut off; and famine, with distended jaws, was devouring the people by houses and families. The roofs were filled with women and babes in the last stage: the streets with old men already dead. Children and youths, swollen up, huddled together like spectres in the market-places; and fell down wherever the pangs of death seized them. To inter their relations, they who were themselves affected had not strength; and those still in health and vigour were deterred by the multitude of the dead, and by the uncertainty that hung over themselves. For many expired while burying others; and many repaired to the cemeteries ere the fatal hour arrived.

Amidst these calamities there was neither lamentation, nor wailing: famine overpowered the affections. With dry eyes and gaping mouths, the slowly-dying gazed on those who had gone to their rest before them. Profound silence reigned through the city, and a night pregnant with death, and the brigands more dreadful still than these. For bursting open the houses, as they would a sepulchre, they plundered the dead, and dragging off the coverings from the bodies, departed with laughter. They even tried the points of their swords in the carcases, and, to prove the temper of the blades, would run them through some of those who were stretched still breathing on the

ground; others, who implored them to lend them their hand and sword, they abandoned disdainfully to the famine. They all expired with their eyes intently fixed on the temple, averting them from the insurgents whom they left alive. These at first, finding the stench of the bodies insupportable, ordered that they should be buried at the public expense; but afterwards, when unequal to the task, they threw them from the walls into the ravines below.

4. Titus, as he went his rounds, beholding these filled with the dead, and the thick matter that flowed from the carcases as they rotted—groaned, and, lifting up his hands, called God to witness, that this was not his doing. Such was the state of things in the city. The Romans, meanwhile, were in the highest spirits, being no longer harassed by the sallies of the insurgents—for despondency and famine were at length fastening upon them also—and having plentiful supplies of corn and other necessities from Syria and the neighbouring provinces; and often would the soldiers approach the walls, and, displaying large stores of viands, aggravate by their superabundance the hunger of the enemy.

The insurgents remaining unmoved by these sufferings, Titus, commiserating the remnant of the people, and anxious to rescue at least the present survivors, again commenced raising mounds; though materials were now procured with difficulty. For, all the trees around the city having been felled for the preceding works, the troops had to collect timber from a distance of ninety furlongs, and to raise mounds much larger than the former, at four points opposite the Antonia alone. Cæsar still went the round of the legions, and accelerated the operations, showing the brigands that they were in his power. But in their breasts, alone, had regret for these miseries been extinguished, and dissevering, as it were, their souls from their bodies, they dealt with each, as if alien to the other. For neither did the sufferings of the body tame their minds, nor the anguish of the mind affect their bodies: but, like dogs, they worried the people even after death, and crowded the prisons with the feeble.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. Not even Matthias, through whom he obtained possession of the city, did Simon put to death untortured. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, and connected with the chief priests, and he had been

eminently faithful to, and honoured by, the people. He, when the multitude were suffering severely from the Zealots, to whose party John had now attached himself, persuaded the citizens to receive Simon as an auxiliary without entering into any stipulations, or anticipating evil at his hands. But when once Simon had gained admittance, and become master of the town, he deemed even the man who had advocated his cause an enemy, equally with the rest, as having done so in mere simplicity. Accordingly, having now summoned Matthias before him, he accused him of being a partisan of the Romans; and, without allowing him to utter a word in his defence, condemned him to death, with three of his sons; the fourth having previously fled to Titus. Matthias, entreating that he might suffer before his children, and requesting this favour in return for having opened the gates to Simon, was denied his suit, and ordered to be slain the last. He was, accordingly, butchered on the bodies of his sons, who had been slaughtered before his eyes, after having been led out in view of the Romans; (for such were the injunctions which Simon gave to Ananus, son of Bamadus, the most cruel of his satellites) tauntingly demanding, whether they to whom he intended to desert would succour him. The bodies he forbade to be interred. After these, a priest named Ananias, son of Masambalus, a person of distinction, as also Aristeus, the secretary of the council, born at Ammaus, with fifteen eminent men from among the people, were executed. They also detained the father of Josephus in prison, and issued a proclamation that none in the city should converse together, or congregate in one place, for fear of treason; and all who made lamentation in collected bodies were, without inquiry, put to death.

2. On witnessing these circumstances, Judes, the son of Judes, one of Simon's officers, and entrusted by him with the custody of a tower, in some measure perhaps from compassion for those thus cruelly destroyed, but chiefly to provide for his own safety, convened ten of the most trusty of those under him, and said: "How long shall we tolerate these evils? Or what prospect of deliverance is there, while we maintain allegiance to this wicked man? Is not the famine already upon us? the Romans all but in the town? and Simon unfaithful even to his benefactors? And have we not now reason to apprehend punishment from him, while with the Romans there is assured protection? Come then, let us surrender the ramparts, and save ourselves and the city! Simon will be no very grievous sufferer, should he, now that he has abandoned all hope of safety, be brought the sooner to justice."

The ten acquiescing in these views, early next morning he de-

spatched the remainder of those under his orders in different directions, that nothing which had passed at the meeting might transpire, and about the third hour called to the Romans from the tower. Of these, some treated him with contempt, others with doubt, while the greater part declined interfering, from the persuasion that they would in a little time take the city without danger. But, while Titus was advancing up to the wall with a body of troops, Simon, who had received timely intimation of what was going forward, arrived, and, pre-occupying the tower with all haste, seized the men, and, having killed them in sight of the Romans, and mutilated their bodies, threw them over the ramparts.

3. In the mean time, Josephus, in going his rounds—for he was unremitting in his exhortations—was struck on the head by a stone, and instantly dropped insensible. On his fall, the Jews sallied out, and he would soon have been dragged into the city, had not Cæsar promptly sent a detachment to protect him. During the conflict Josephus was removed, little conscious of what was passing. The insurgents, as if they had killed the man whom of all others they were most anxious to destroy, shouted aloud with delight. This being rumoured through the town, the residue of the people were seized with dejection, believing that he, through whom they were encouraged to desert, had really perished. The mother of Josephus, hearing in prison that her son was dead, remarked to the guards, “that ever since the siege of Jotapata, she had been led to expect this; for even in his life-time she did not enjoy his society.” But giving vent in secret to her grief, she observed to her female attendants, “that she had reaped this fruit of her maternity, to be denied the burying of that son, by whom she expected that she would herself have been interred.” Happily, however, this unfounded rumour neither long distressed her, nor solaced the brigands. For Josephus quickly recovered from the stroke, and coming forward, cried aloud, “that he should ere long have his revenge upon them for his wound.” The people he again exhorted to accept the proffered protection. On beholding him, these were filled with confidence, the insurgents with dismay.

4. Of the deserters, some, through necessity, leaped down at once from the ramparts: whilst others, going out with stones as if to a skirmish, then fled to the Romans. Here, however, a fate awaited them, more melancholy than that which attended those within; and in the abundance they enjoyed with the Romans they found a more speedy end than in the famine which raged among themselves. They arrived swollen from hunger, and as if labouring under dropsy; and

then, suddenly overloading their empty bodies, they burst asunder. Some there were, however, who, aware of the danger, restrained their appetites, and little by little administered nutriment to a stomach unused to food.

But even those who were thus preserved were overtaken by another calamity. One of the deserters under the care of the Syrians was discovered collecting pieces of gold which he had swallowed; for these, as we have said, the fugitives swallowed previous to attempting their escape, as all were searched by the insurgents; and gold was so abundant in the town that they could purchase for twelve Attic pieces what before was valued at five-and-twenty. This artifice being detected in one instance, the rumour circulated through the camp, that the deserters came filled with gold; and the Arabians and Syrians proceeded to cut open the suppliants, and search their intestines; and than this calamity, in my opinion, nothing more dreadful befel the Jews. In one night two thousand were ripped up.

5. Hearing of this outrage, Titus was on the point of surrounding the delinquents with his horse, and spearing them, had not so many been implicated: those who would have to be punished far exceeding the sufferers in number. Convening the generals of the auxiliaries and those of the legions (for some of his own troops also were involved in the charge) he addressed both parties in terms of indignation. "Were any soldiers of his guilty of such an act for the sake of uncertain lucre, and did they not blush for the honour of their own weapons, made of silver and gold?" From the Arabians and Syrians he demanded, "Whether in a foreign war they first give unrestrained licence to their passions, and then ascribe to the Romans their own murderous cruelty and hatred of the Jews? For some of the very legionaries," he said, "now participated in their infamy." These he accordingly threatened with death, should any be found daring to repeat the crime; the legionaries he commanded to search for those suspected, and bring them before him. But cupidity, as it appeared, set every punishment at defiance. Indeed, the love of gain is a ruling passion in men, and none is so headstrong as avarice. Yet these, on ordinary occasions, observe some bounds, and are controlled by fear. But God had condemned the whole nation, and was turning to its destruction every avenue of safety. Thus what was prohibited with threats by Cæsar, was still covertly ventured on against the deserters. And the barbarians advanced to meet the fugitives, before they had been seen by the troops, and massacred them. Then, looking round, lest some of the Romans should espy them, they ripped them up, and drew the polluted gain from their bowels. In a few

only was it discovered; yet the bare hope of finding it caused the wanton destruction of the greater part. This calamity led numbers of the deserters to return.

6. John, when the plunder from the people failed, had recourse to sacrilege, and melted down many of the temple-offerings, and many vessels necessary for the public ministrations, bowls, and dishes, and tables; nor did he abstain from the wine-vases, which had been sent by Augustus and his consort; for the Roman sovereigns ever revered and ornamented the sacred edifice. But at this time a Jew tore down even the donations of foreigners, remarking to his associates, that it became them to use divine things in the cause of the Deity without apprehension, and that those who fought for the temple should be supported by it.

Accordingly, drawing the sacred wine and oil, which the priests kept for pouring on the burnt-offerings, and which was deposited in the inner temple, he distributed them to his adherents, who consumed without horror more than a hin in anointing themselves and drinking. And here I cannot refrain from expressing what my feelings suggest. I am of opinion, that had the Romans deferred the punishment of these wretches, either the earth would have opened and swallowed up the city, or it would have been swept away by a deluge, or have shared the thunderbolts of the land of Sodom. For it produced a race far more ungodly than those who were thus visited. For through the desperate madness of these men, the whole nation was involved in their ruin.

7. But why need I enter into any partial detail of their calamities? when Mannæus, the son of Lazarus, who at this period took refuge with Titus, declared, that, from the fourteenth of the month Xanthicus, the day on which the Romans encamped before the walls, until the new moon of Panemus, there were carried through that one gate which had been entrusted to him, a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty corpses. This multitude was all of the poorer class; nor had he undertaken the charge himself; but, having been entrusted with the distribution of the public fund, he was obliged to keep count. The remainder were buried by their relations. The interment, however, consisted merely in bringing them forth, and casting them out of the city.

After him, many of the higher ranks escaped; and they brought word that full six hundred thousand of the humbler classes had been thrown out through the gates. Of the others, it was impossible to ascertain the number. They stated, moreover, that when they had no longer strength to carry out the poor, they piled the carcasses in

the largest houses, and shut them up; and that a measure of wheat had been sold for a talent; and that still later, when it was no longer possible to gather herbs, the city being walled round, some were reduced to such distress, that they searched the sewers and the stale ordure of cattle, and ate the refuse; and what they would formerly have turned from with disgust, then became food.

The recital of these facts awakened the compassion of the Romans; yet the insurgents, though eye-witnesses, relented not, but allowed the same calamities to overtake themselves; blinded by the fate, which, alike to them and to the city, was now at hand.

THE JEWISH WAR.

BOOK VI.

ARGUMENT OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

- 1 The sufferings of the Jews increase in severity.—The Romans assail the Antonia.—
2. Titus gives orders for the demolition of the Antonia.—At his direction Josephus again addresses the seditious.—3. Numbers of Romans are burned to death, through a stratagem of the Jews.—An atrocious instance of the effect of famine.—4. The mounds are completed, and the engines brought up, without effect.—Titus orders the gates to be set on fire.—The whole Sanctuary is consumed.—5. The sufferings entailed on the Jews by the conflagration of the Temple.—Some account of a false prophet.—The portents which preceded the capture of Jerusalem.—6. The Romans bring their engines within the Temple.—The address of Titus to the Jews on their supplication for mercy.—Their reply, which arouses his indignation.—7. What befell the insurgents in the sequel of their sufferings.—Titus obtains possession of the upper town.—
8. Cæsar becomes master of the whole city.—9. The instructions given by Cæsar on his entry.—The number of the slain and captured.—Of the Tyrants Simon and John.—
10. A brief summary of the history of Jerusalem.



BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

1. THE calamities of Jerusalem now became daily aggravated, the ferocity of the insurgents being stimulated by their sufferings, and the famine at length extending its ravages from the people to themselves. The multitude of carcases, moreover, that lay in heaps throughout the city, presenting a horrible spectacle, and emitting a pestilential stench, formed an impediment to the combatants in their sallies. For they were compelled, like men inured to boundless slaughter on the battle-field, to tread upon the bodies as they advanced; and as they passed over them, no shudder seized them, no emotion of pity. Nor yet drew they any evil omen to themselves from this insult to the departed. With hands defiled by the blood of their countrymen, they rushed forth to encounter aliens; upbraiding the Deity, as it seems to me, with tardiness in punishing them. For the contest was not maintained in hope of victory: it was despair of safety which now inspired them with boldness.

The Romans, meanwhile, though severely harassed in the collection of timber, had completed the mounds in one-and-twenty days, having, as we before stated, stripped the whole district around the city to the distance of ninety furlongs. Melancholy indeed was the aspect of the country; places formerly ornamented with trees and pleasure-grounds now lying utterly desert, with all the timber felled. Nor could a stranger, who had seen Judæa as she once was, and the enchanting suburbs of her capital, and beheld her present desolation, have refrained from tears, or suppressed a sigh at the greatness of the change. For the war had obliterated every trace of beauty; and had any one acquainted with the spot in other days come suddenly upon it, he could not have recognised it, but, though beside it, would still have inquired for the city.

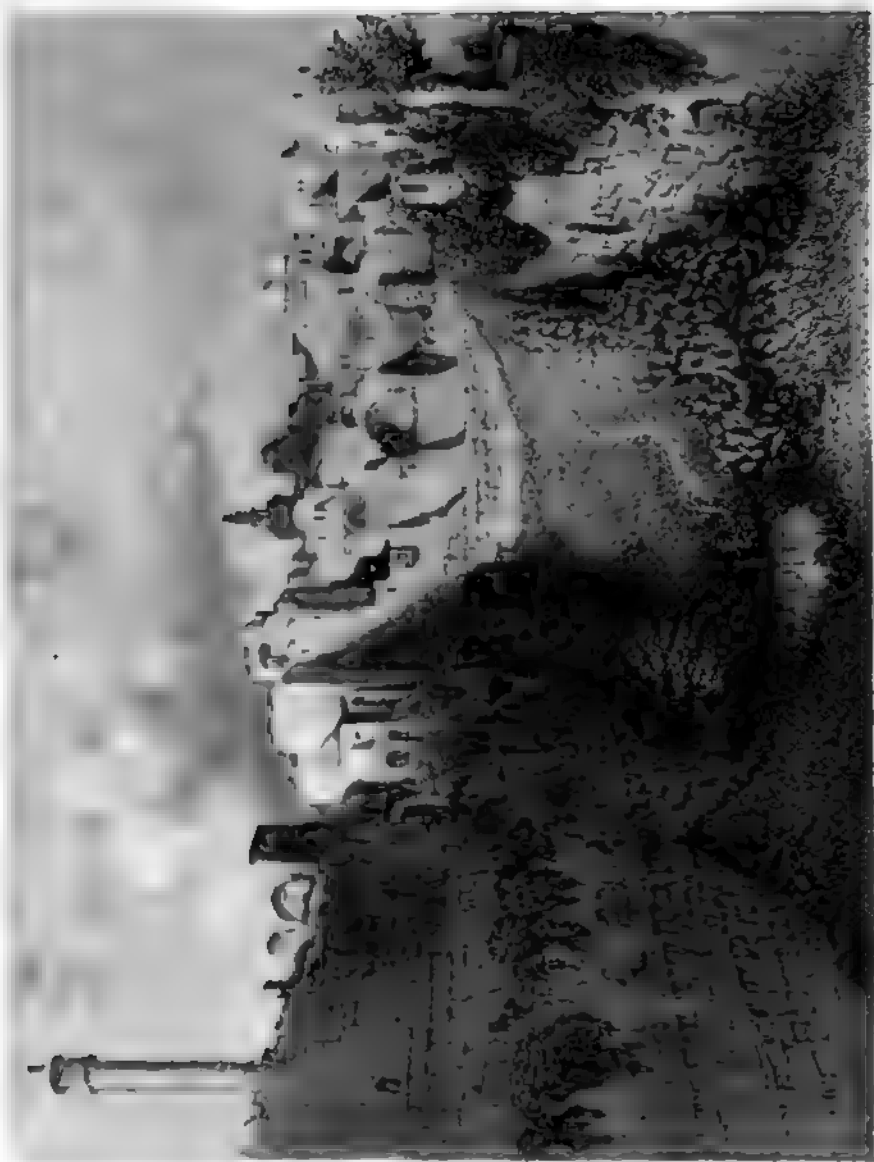
2. To the Romans, as to the Jews, the completion of the mounds proved a source of apprehension. For the latter feared that, should

they not succeed in burning them too, the town would be captured; the Romans, that they would never take it, should these mounds also be destroyed. For there was a deficiency of materials, and the bodies of the soldiers were already sinking beneath their toils, and their minds under their repeated disasters. The calamities of the city, moreover, were an occasion of greater discouragement to the Romans, than to those within the walls; for they found its defenders no way disheartened by such severe misfortunes, while their own hopes were continually crushed, their mounds counteracted by the stratagems of the enemy, their engines by the solidity of the ramparts, their close combat by the daring of their antagonists. But above all, finding the Jews possessed of a fortitude of mind which yielded not to sedition, famine, war, or calamities, however great, they deemed the energy of the men irresistible, and their cheerfulness under disaster invincible. For what would they not endure, did Fortune smile upon them, who were animated to valour by her frowns? These reflections, therefore, led the Romans to strengthen considerably the guards of the mounds.

S. John and his party, who were posted at the Antonia, while taking precautions for the future, in the event of the demolition of the wall, also assailed the works before the rams were brought up. Their enterprise, however, proved unsuccessful. Having advanced with torches, they returned checked in their hopes, ere they reached the mounds. For first, there seemed to be no unanimity in their counsels. They rushed out in detached parties, and at intervals, hesitatingly and in alarm, and in a word, not as Jews. For they were not wanting alike in all the peculiar characteristics of the nation, daring, impetuosity, the simultaneous charge, and the safe retreat even when wounded.

But while their own advance was thus unusually languid, they found the Romans drawn up in stronger array than ordinary, screening the mounds on all sides with their bodies and with their arms, so as to preclude the introduction of fire from any quarter whatever; each vowed in heart never to quit his post with life. For, besides that all their hopes would be cut off, should these works also be burned, the soldiers felt the deepest shame, that artifice should invariably prove superior to valour, desperation to arms, numbers to science, Jews to Romans.

The besieging engines, at the same time, rendered them some assistance, reaching with missiles the sallying parties. Each, as he fell, obstructed the man in his rear, while the danger of advancing chilled them all. Of those who had run up within the range of



W. H. W.

POOL OF BETHESDA

AN ALBUM

the missiles, some, terrified by the admirable order and firm array of their antagonists, turned and fled, before they came to close quarters; others, not till wounded with their lances. At length, reproaching each other with cowardice, they withdrew, their object unattained. This attack was made on the new moon of the month Panemus.

On the retreat of the Jews, the Romans brought up the storming towers, though assailed from the Antonia with stones, fire, iron, and every species of missile with which necessity supplied the Jews. For, though they relied with confidence on their ramparts, and held the engines in contempt, they yet laboured to prevent the Romans from bringing them up. The latter, on the other hand, conjecturing that the anxiety of the Jews to protect the Antonia from assault arose from the weakness of the walls, and hoping that its foundations were insecure, redoubled their exertions. But it resisted every shock. Still the Romans, though incessantly assailed, undeterred by the dangers that menaced them from above, continued to give full effect to their machines. As they were, however, at a disadvantage, and were crushed by the stones, another party, locking their shields over their bodies, set to work with hands and crow-bars to undermine the foundations, and after persevering exertion dislodged four stones. Night suspended the operations on either side; but during its lapse the wall, shaken by the rams in that part where John, in his stratagem against the former mounds, had dug underneath it, fell suddenly to the ground, the mine giving way.

4. By this occurrence the minds of both parties were affected in an extraordinary manner. For the Jews, who might reasonably have been disheartened by this unexpected catastrophe, and by their having taken no precautionary measures against it, maintained their confidence, as the Antonia still remained; while, on the other hand, the unhopèd-for joy of the Romans at this event was speedily extinguished by the appearance of another wall, which John and his party had built inside. The assault of this, however, seemed likely to be attended with less difficulty than that of the former, as the ruins of the outer wall facilitated the ascent to it. The wall itself, also, appeared much weaker than that of the Antonia; and they therefore flattered themselves, that, as it was a temporary structure, it would be quickly destroyed. Still, none ventured to mount it; for manifest destruction awaited those who should first make the attempt.

5. Titus—being of opinion that the ardour of those who are engaged in war is most powerfully roused by hope and the language of encouragement, and that exhortations and promises frequently induce forgetfulness of danger, and sometimes even a contempt of

death—assembling his best troops around him, thus put them to the proof.

“Fellow-soldiers,” said he, “an address inciting to enterprises not in their own nature attended with danger is inglorious to those to whom it is directed, while it assuredly argues pusillanimity in him from whom it comes. Encouragement I deem necessary, only when affairs wear an alarming aspect; since, when the contrary is the case, it behoves every one to act of his own accord. I therefore myself lay the fact before you, that to scale the wall is an arduous undertaking. But that it is peculiarly becoming in those who are ambitious of fame to contend with difficulties—that it is glorious to die with renown; and that those who lead the way in deeds of valour shall not be unrewarded—I will now proceed to show. In the first place then, be that an incentive to you, which to some might possibly be a dissuasive—the patient endurance which the Jews exhibit, and their fortitude in adversity. For shame it were, Romans as you are, and soldiers of mine, who in peace are trained to war, and in war are accustomed to conquer, that you should yield the palm, either in strength or courage, to Jews; and this, when on the eve of victory, and enjoying the co-operation of God. For our mischances originate in the desperation of the Jews; while their sufferings are augmented by your prowess and the assistance of the Deity. For intestine feuds, famine, siege, the fall of their ramparts without a stroke from our engines—what else can this be but the manifestation of God’s anger against them, and of His aid extended to us? Therefore were it unbecoming in us so to act as not only to be surpassed by an inferior, but even to forego the Divine alliance. How, indeed, can it be otherwise than disgraceful, that Jews—on whom, as they have learned to be slaves, defeat can bring no great degree of shame—should yet, that they may endure servitude no longer, regard death with contempt, and frequently rush out into the midst of us, not from any hope of victory, but for the bare display of courage; and yet that we, who have subdued almost the whole of sea and land, and to whom not to conquer is disgrace, without once exposing ourselves to danger against our foes, should await the operations of famine and fortune against them, sitting down idle with weapons such as these;—and this when we have it in our power, at a trifling hazard, to accomplish all? For if we scale the Antonia, the city is our own. For even should there be any further struggle with those within the city, which I do not anticipate, your position over their heads, and the command of the very air they breathe, would ensure a complete and speedy triumph.

“To laud a death in war, and the immortality of those who fall amidst the wild enthusiasm of battle, is not my present purpose; yet to those who feel otherwise, the worst I would wish is death during peace by disease, their souls and bodies condemned to one common grave! For who of the brave knows not, that the souls released from the flesh by the sword on the battle-field are welcomed by ether, the purest of elements, and placed among the stars; and that they shine among their own posterity, as good genii and propitious heroes? but that those souls which pine away in bodies wasted by disease, however pure they may be from stains and defilements, a subterraneous night obscures, and profound oblivion receives, while their life, their bodies, and their memory, reach their close together? But if an inevitable end has been decreed for men, and the sword administers it more gently than any disease, how can it be otherwise than ignoble, to deny to the public weal what we must yield to fate?

“Thus far I have proceeded on the supposition, that they who shall make the attempt must necessarily perish. Still, to the valiant escape is possible, even from the most imminent dangers. For, in the first place, it will be easy to mount the wall which has been thrown down; and in the next place, so much as has been built up, it will not be difficult to overthrow. And do you arm yourselves in greater numbers with boldness for the enterprise, and thus encourage and assist each other; and your intrepidity will soon break the spirits of your opponents. And perhaps this exploit may be bloodless, if you do but make the attempt. For, though they will in all probability endeavour to hinder you in the ascent, yet if, unperceived, you once force your way, it may be that they will no longer resist, though but a handful of you should anticipate them. As for the man who leads the assault, I should blush did I not make him worthy to be envied for his rewards; and while he who survives shall command those who are now his equals, the blessed meed of valour shall attend even them that fall.”

6. On this address of Titus, the general body of the soldiers were alarmed at the magnitude of the danger; but among those who served in the cohorts was one named Sabinus, a Syrian by birth, who showed himself pre-eminent in strength of body and in spirit, though any one judging of him from his outward appearance would have pronounced him unfit to be a soldier. His skin was black, his person withered and emaciated; but in this attenuated frame, a frame little proportioned to its native prowess, dwelt an heroic soul. It was he that was the first to rise. “I cheerfully devote myself to you, Cæsar,” he exclaimed: “I am the first to scale the wall; and I pray that your

fortune may second my strength and resolution. But, if my attempt be frustrated by higher powers, know that I have anticipated my fall, but that for your sake I have deliberately preferred to die." Having thus spoken, and with his left hand stretching his shield over his head, and with his right drawing his sword, just at the sixth hour of the day, he proceeded towards the wall. There followed him eleven others also, who alone were found to emulate his valour. But the man, inspired by a preternatural ardour, kept far in advance of all. The guards hurled their darts at them from the ramparts, pouring at the same time showers of missiles from all quarters, and rolling down vast stones, which swept away some out of the eleven. But Sabinus facing the missiles, and almost overwhelmed by the darts, paused not in his impetuous onset, until he had gained the summit, and routed the enemy. For the Jews, dismayed at his strength and intrepidity of spirit, and conceiving withal that more had ascended, betook themselves to flight.

Here, notwithstanding, one might censure Fortune as bearing a grudge against feats of valour, and ever frustrating marvellous achievements. Thus, at the very moment when Sabinus had attained his object, he slipped, and, stumbling against a stone, fell headlong over it with a loud crash. The Jews, turning and seeing him alone and prostrate, assailed him on all sides. Rising on his knee, and protecting himself with his shield, he defended himself for a while, and wounded numbers of those who approached him. But his arm was soon paralysed by his many wounds, and he was at length, ere yet he had yielded life, buried under the missiles; a man, whose gallantry merited a better fate, but whose fall was in character with his enterprise. Of his comrades, three were crushed by the stones, and slain, after gaining the summit; the other eight were drawn down wounded, and conveyed to the camp. These events took place on the third of the month Panemus.

7. Two days after, twenty of the guards, who formed an outpost at the mounds, assembled, and inviting the standard-bearer of the fifth legion to join them, with two horsemen from the lines, and a trumpeter, advanced at the ninth hour of the night, without noise, through the ruins to the Antonia. The sentinels whom they first fell in with, they killed in their sleep, and having gained possession of the wall, ordered the trumpeter to sound. On this, the other guards suddenly started to their feet and fled, before any one had observed what number had ascended; for the panic, and the peal of the trumpet, led them to suppose that the enemy had mounted in great force. Cæsar, on hearing the signal, immediately ordered the

troops to arms, and with the generals, and his detachment of picked men, was the first to mount the ramparts. The Jews fled into the temple; the Romans also making their way in through the mine which John had excavated under their mounds.

The insurgents of both factions, as well those attached to John, as those who followed Simon, drawing up in separate divisions, checked their advance, performing prodigies of strength and valour; for they deemed capture complete, should the Romans penetrate into the Holy Place; while the latter looked on such an event as the commencement of victory. A desperate conflict ensued around the approaches; the legionaries pressing in to possess themselves of the temple also, the Jews thrusting them back to the Antonia. Missiles and spears were alike useless to both parties. Drawing their swords, they engaged hand to hand; and in the struggle it was impossible to distinguish on which side the respective combatants were, the men, owing to the narrowness of the place, being mixed with one another, and interchanged; and their battle cries, so loud was the din, striking confusedly on the ear.

The slaughter on either side was great; and the contending ranks trampling on the fallen, crushed their bodies and their armour. Whichever way rolled the fluctuating tide of war, were heard the animating shouts of the victors, and the lamentations of the routed. Place for flight or pursuit was none, the ranks swaying to and fro, and shifting about irregularly in the confusion of the contest. Necessity compelled those in front either to kill or be killed, there being no retreat; for those behind on both sides urged forward their own party, and no intermediate space was left for the combatants. At length, the fury of the Jews prevailing over the skill of the Romans, the whole line gave way, after an engagement maintained from the ninth hour of the night, until the seventh of the day. The Jews had fought with all their forces combined, with the peril of capture as an incentive to valour; the Romans had only a part of their force in the action, the legions, on which they placed their main dependence, not having yet come up. They were, accordingly, satisfied for the present with the possession of the Antonia.

8. Julian, a centurion in the Bithynian army, a man not ignoble, and distinguished above all whom I became acquainted with during that war, in knowledge of the military art, in strength of body, and in intrepidity of soul, observing the Romans now giving way, and offering but feeble resistance, sprang forward—he had been standing beside Titus at the Antonia—and singly drove back the Jews, already victorious, to the corner of the inner temple. The multitude fled in

crowds before him, deeming neither his strength nor his courage human. Dashing in every direction through the midst of their scattered ranks, he slew all who came in his way, and nothing was presented more admirable than that spectacle in the eyes of Cæsar, or more horrifying to his foes. But he also was pursued by fate, which it is impossible for mortal man to escape. His shoes being thickly studded with pointed nails, as was customary with the soldiery, he slipped while running on the pavement, and falling on his back, his armour crashing loudly, he attracted the attention of the fugitives. The Romans on the Antonia, alarmed for his safety, raised a loud shout; but the Jews, surrounding him in crowds, assailed him on all sides with spears and swords. Many of their thrusts he received on his shield, making frequent attempts to rise, but as often thrown back by the number of his assailants. Yet, even while prostrate, he wounded many with his sword; for, protected as he was in every vital part by his helmet and breast-plate, and contracting his neck, he was not soon dispatched. At length, all his other members being hacked, and none of his comrades venturing to his assistance, he resigned himself to his fate. The fall of a soldier of such distinguished gallantry, killed, too, before the eyes of so many, deeply affected Cæsar. Though anxious to succour him in person, he was prevented by the nature of the place, while those who might have aided him were withheld by terror. Julian, in consequence, after struggling long with death, and permitting few of those who killed him to escape unscathed, was with difficulty slain, leaving behind him, not with the Romans and Cæsar only, but even among his enemies, a reputation of the highest renown. The Jews, dragging off the body, again repulsed the Romans, and shut them up in the Antonia.

Of the Jews, one Alexas, and Gypthæus, signally distinguished themselves in this engagement, in John's army; as did, among Simon's adherents, Malachias, and Judas, son of Merton, with James, son of Sosas, commander of the Idumæans; and of the Zealots, two brothers, Simon and Judes, sons of Ari.

CHAPTER II.

1. TITUS now ordered his troops to raze the foundations of the Antonia, and prepare an easy ascent for his whole force. On the seventeenth of Panemus—on which day he heard that the daily sacrifice, as it was styled, had ceased to be offered to God from want of men, and that the people were in consequence fearfully disheartened—he put Josephus forward, and directed him to deliver to John the same message as before ;—“ That if he had a depraved love for fighting, he was at liberty to advance from the walls with as many as he wished, and carry on the war without involving the city and the sanctuary in his own ruin ; but that he ought no longer to pollute the Holy Place, nor transgress against God ; and that he had his permission to perform the interrupted sacrifices, with the aid of such Jews as he should select.”

Josephus, accordingly, standing where he might be heard, not only by John, but by the multitude as well, declared to them in Hebrew the commands of Cæsar, and, moreover, at great length besought them to “ spare their country, to disperse those flames which were already touching on the temple, and to restore to God the usual expiations.” These words were received by the people in silence and dejection ; but the tyrant, after venting many invectives and imprecations against Josephus, finally added, that “ he could never fear capture, since it was God’s city.” Thereupon, Josephus cried aloud :—

“ Marvellously pure, no doubt, hast thou preserved it for God ! and the Holy Place, too, remains unpolluted ! Against Him whose alliance thou hopest for thou hast committed no impiety ! He still receives His customary sacrifices ! Should any one deprive thee of thy daily food, most impious wretch, thou wouldst deem him an enemy : dost thou, then, hope to have that God for thy confederate in the war, whom thou hast defrauded of His eternal worship ? And dost thou impute your sins to the Romans, who, up to this very moment, respect our laws, and strive to restore to God those sacrifices which are by you interrupted ? Who would not mourn, and commiserate the city, on so strange a revolution ? since foreigners and enemies rectify thy impiety, whilst thou, a Jew, nurtured in her laws, dealest with them more rudely even than they ?

“ But, notwithstanding, John, it is never disgraceful, even at the latest moment, to repent of misdeeds ; a noble example—shouldst thou

desire to save thy country, is set before thee in Jechoniah, king of the Jews; who, when the Babylonian once led his army against the city on his account, willingly withdrew, rather than it should be captured; submitting with his family to voluntary captivity, that these holy places might not be delivered up to the foe, and that he might not see the house of God in flames. For this is he celebrated in sacred story among all the Jews, and history, flowing ever fresh through each succeeding age, hands him down to posterity immortal. Here, John, is a noble example, even were there danger in following it; but I guarantee you even pardon from the Romans. Remember, moreover, that I who exhort you am one of your own nation; that I who hold out these promises am a Jew; and it behoves you to consider who it is that counsels you, and of what race he comes. For never may I live to become so debased a captive, as to disown my birth, or to forget my fatherland.

“Again thou art indignant, and breakest forth in loud invectives against me. I deserve it, I own—aye, and severer treatment still—for offering an admonition in opposition to fate, and for endeavouring to save those whose doom is pronounced by God. Who is ignorant of the writings of the ancient prophets, and of that prediction, now on the eve of accomplishment, which threatens this wretched city? For then did they foretell its capture, when one should commence the slaughter of his own countrymen. And is not the city—yea, and all the temple too—filled with your corpses? It is God, then—God Himself,—who, by means of the Romans, is bringing upon it a purifying fire, and is sweeping away a city fraught with such pollutions.”

2. During this address, delivered with lamentations and tears, Josephus' voice was interrupted by sobs. Even the Romans pitied his emotion, and wondered at the strength of his affection. But John and his adherents were only the more exasperated against the Romans, desiring to get Josephus also into their power. Still his arguments moved many of the higher class. Some, indeed, there were who, though assured that themselves and the city were alike doomed to destruction, from dread of the guards of the insurgents continued in the place, but others, watching an opportunity for effecting a safe retreat, fled to the Romans. Among these were the chief priests, Joseph and Jesus, and certain sons of chief priests. Of these, three were the sons of Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene; four of Matthias; and one the son of another of that name, who had made his escape after the death of his father, whom, with three of his sons, Simon, son of Gioras, had executed, as has been already related.

With the chief priests, many others also of the nobles went over to the Romans.

Not only did Cæsar receive them with kindness in all other respects; but, aware that they would not pass their time without annoyance amidst foreign customs, he sent them to Gophna, with directions to remain there for the present; and promising, when at leisure, as soon as he had done with the war, to restore to them their respective possessions. They retired accordingly, with cheerful hearts and perfect security, to the town assigned. As these persons were no longer seen, the insurgents again circulated a report, that the deserters were slaughtered by the Romans, evidently with the design of deterring others by such apprehensions from attempting escape. The artifice, as before, was attended with momentary success, fear checking the spirit of desertion.

3. Subsequently, however, Titus, having recalled the men from Gophna, ordered them to make a circuit of the wall with Josephus, in order to be seen by the people; whereupon great numbers fled to the Romans. Grouping together, and standing in front of the Roman line, with lamentations and tears, they implored the insurgents, "above all, to admit the Romans to the whole of the city, and once more save their fatherland; but if this displeased them, to withdraw, at all events, from the temple, and thus preserve for themselves the sanctuary: for the Romans would not venture, unless under the most urgent necessity, to set fire to the holy places."

This language only induced a more determined opposition, and shouting in return many imprecations on the deserters, they ranged their scorpions, catapults, and stone-projectors, over the sacred gates: so that the temple enclosure all around, from the vast heaps of dead, resembled a crowded cemetery, and the sanctuary itself a citadel. They rushed in arms into those hallowed and inviolable shrines, their hands still reeking with the blood of their fellow-countrymen. To such a pitch of iniquity did they proceed, that, with the same feelings of indignation, with which the Jews might naturally have regarded the Romans, had they been guilty of similar excesses towards them, did the Romans now view the Jews, profaning their own sacred rites. Of the soldiers, indeed, there was not one who did not regard the temple with awe and adoration, and who did not pray that the brigands might relent, before any irremediable calamity occurred.

4. Titus, deeply affected, again upbraided John and his associates. "Was it not you," said he, "most abandoned men, that raised this partition-wall before your sanctuary? Was it not you that disposed the tablets upon it, inscribed in Greek and Roman characters,

proclaiming that none should pass that border? And did not we grant you liberty to put to death any who should do so, even were he a Roman? Why then, ye guilty ones, do ye now trample even dead bodies underfoot within it? Why do you contaminate your sanctuary with the blood of strangers, and of your fellow-countrymen? I call the gods of my fathers to witness, and any Deity who once watched over this place—for now I think it is cared for by none—I appeal to my own army also, and to the Jews beside me, ay, and to you yourselves, that it is not I that constrain you to defile those things. And would you but change the scene of conflict, no Roman shall approach or profane the holy places. Nay, I shall preserve the sanctuary for you, even against your will.”

5. On Josephus reporting to them this address of Cæsar, the brigands and the tyrant, attributing his exhortations rather to cowardice than to any friendly motive, received them with supercilious scorn. But Titus, when he saw that they felt neither compassion for themselves, nor regard for the sanctuary, once more reluctantly proceeded to hostilities. His whole force it was impossible to bring up against them, owing to the confined nature of the ground: he therefore selected thirty of the best men out of each century, appointing a tribune to every thousand. The command-in-chief he confided to Cerealius, and gave orders to attack the guards about the ninth hour of the night. He was also himself in arms, and ready to go down with them, but was withheld by his friends on account of the magnitude of the danger, and by the observations of the generals, who represented that “he would do more good by taking his station on the Antonia, and directing the troops in the battle, than if he should descend, and lead in the path of peril; for all would conduct themselves like brave warriors under the eye of Cæsar.” In these suggestions Titus acquiesced, declaring to the troops, that “for this sole reason he remained, that he might judge of their gallantry, and that none of the brave might be unrewarded, nor any of an opposite character escape unchastised; but that he might be a spectator, and witness of all, who had authority both to reward and to punish.” At the hour above-mentioned he dismissed the soldiers on their enterprise; while he himself, proceeding from the Antonia to a point whence he could see all below, anxiously watched the event.

6. The troops, however, did not find the guards asleep as they had hoped; but, their antagonists springing up with a loud shout, they were instantly engaged in a close struggle with them. At the cries of the sentries their comrades ran out in a mass from the buildings. The Romans sustained the shock of those who came first: they who

advanced next fell upon their own party, and many dealt with their comrades as enemies. For recognition by voice was prevented by the confused din on both sides, and that by vision by the darkness of the night; while, even had it been otherwise, some were so blinded by rage, and others by fear, as to assail indiscriminately all who came in their way.

To the Romans, however, who locked their shields, and charged in compact bodies, this uncertainty was less prejudicial; each, besides, bore the watchword in recollection. But the Jews, constantly scattered, and alike attacking and retreating at random, frequently presented to one another the aspect of enemies; for each imagined, in the darkness, that a retreating comrade was an advancing Roman, and received him as such. More, accordingly, were wounded by their own party than by the foe, until day having dawned, the battle became thenceforward discernible to the eye; and then, having drawn up apart in close array on either side, they could use their missiles, and carry on their resistance in good order. Neither gave way; neither relaxed their efforts. The Romans, as under the eye of Titus, vied with each other, man by man, and rank by rank, each supposing that that very day would be the commencement of his own promotion, if he did but acquit himself gallantly in the contest. The Jews, on the other hand, were directed in their daring deeds by fears for themselves, and for the temple, and by the watchful presence of their chief, who, partly by encouragement, partly by the lash and menaces, stimulated them to exertion. The contest was for the most part hand to hand, the battle alternating in narrow space, and with rapidity, neither side having room for flight or pursuit.

Ever, as the tide of battle fluctuated, a shout in unison therewith burst from the Antonia. When successful, they called aloud to their men to press boldly forward; when retreating, to stand their ground. It was as some theatric spectacle of war; for nothing throughout the engagement escaped the view of Titus, or of those around him. At length they parted, after an action, commenced at the ninth hour of the night, and continued until after the fifth hour of the day, and in which neither had compelled their adversaries permanently to retire from the spot on which the encounter began, victory remaining undecided in the doubtful combat. Of the Romans, many signalled themselves; of the Jews, the most distinguished were, of the party of Simon, Judas, son of Merton, and Simon, son of Josias; of the Idumæans, James and Simon, the latter the son of Cathlas, the former of Sosas; of John's adherents, Gyphthæus and Alexas; and of the Zealots, Simon, son of Ari.

7. In the mean time, the remainder of the Roman force, having in seven days overturned the foundation of the Antonia, had prepared a wide ascent as far as the temple. The legions now approached the first wall, and commenced their mounds—one opposite the north-west-angle of the inner temple, a second at the northern chamber which was between the two gates, and of the remaining two, one at the western colonnade of the outer court of the temple, the other without, at the northern. The works, however, were carried forward amid great fatigue and hardship, the timber being brought from the distance of a hundred furlongs.

The troops, likewise, occasionally suffered severely by stratagems, being themselves from assurance of superiority the more off their guard, and finding the Jews, through despair of safety, the more daring. Some of the cavalry, when they went out to collect wood or fodder, took the bridles off their horses, and turned them loose to graze, while they were foraging; and these the Jews, sallying out in bands, carried off. This happening continually, Cæsar, rightly conjecturing that these depredations arose rather from the negligence of his own men, than from the courage of the Jews, determined by an act of more than ordinary severity to turn the attention of the rest to the care of their horses; and having accordingly ordered one of the soldiers who had lost his horse to be led to death, by that fearful example he preserved the chargers of the others; for they no longer allowed them to graze, but when they proceeded in quest of necessaries, kept as close to their horses as if they had formed a natural part of them. The Romans, meanwhile, were carrying on the assault of the temple, and the erection of the mounds.

8. The day after they had mounted the breach, many of the insurgents, whom rapine had already failed, and upon whom famine pressed hard, assembled, and about the eleventh hour of the day attacked the Roman posts at the Mount of Olives; thinking, in the first place, to find them off their guard, and, in the next, to surprise them while taking refreshment, and thus easily break through. The Romans, however, observing their approach betimes, quickly hurried to the spot from the adjacent forts, and checked their strenuous efforts either to scale the barrier, or to throw it down. A hot engagement ensued, and many gallant feats were performed on both sides; the Romans evincing military skill, combined with strength—the Jews reckless impetuosity and unbridled fury. Shame led on the one party, necessity the other. To let go their enemies, now enclosed as in a net, seemed to the Romans most disgraceful; while the Jews had but one hope of safety—to force their way and break through the barrier.

The Jews being at length repulsed and driven down the ravine, one Pedanius, who belonged to the cavalry of a cohort, dashing with his horse on their flank, seized by the ankle one of the flying foe, a youth of robust frame, and in full armour, and caught him up; so much did he stoop from his horse, though in full career, and such strength of arm and of body did he exhibit, joined with great equestrian skill. Carrying off his prisoner as he would some article of property, he came with him to Cæsar, who, having expressed his admiration of the strength of the captor, and ordered the captive to punishment for his attempt on the barrier, gave his attention to the conflicts around the temple, and to the completion of the mounds.

9. In the mean time, the Jews, suffering severely from their encounters, as the war was gradually, yet constantly, tending towards its height, and creeping up to the sanctuary, cut off, as from a body in a state of mortification, the limbs already infected, to arrest the further progress of the disease. They set fire to that part of the north-western colonnade connected with the Antonia, and subsequently broke off about twenty cubits, with their own hands commencing the conflagration of the holy places. Two days after, on the twenty-fourth of the month above-mentioned, the Romans set fire to the adjoining colonnade; and the flames having advanced fifteen cubits further, the Jews, in like manner, cut away the roof, not withdrawing from the work at all, and destroying the whole communication between themselves and the Antonia, although it was in their power to stop those who applied the flames. When the fire caught, they looked calmly on, measuring the extent of its depredations by the advantage to themselves. Thus, around the temple the conflicts were increasing, and uninterrupted were the attacks of sallying parties on each other.

10. During these occurrences, a Jew named Jonathes, a man of low stature and despicable appearance, ignoble as well by birth as otherwise, advancing by the monument of the high-priest John, and addressing to the Romans much insulting language, challenged the best of them to single combat. Of those in the adverse ranks, the greater number regarded this display with contempt, but some probably with apprehension. Others again were influenced by the consideration, by no means an unreasonable one, that they ought not to enter the lists with one who courted death; since those despair of safety are prodigal of their impetuosity, as of everything else, and have no regard even for the Deity; and that to hazard life with men whom to conquer were no great exploit, while to be beaten were equally dangerous and ignominious, would be an act, not of courage, but of rashness.

No antagonist coming forward for a considerable time, and the Jew bitterly taunting them with cowardice—for the fellow was a great braggart, and held the Romans in supreme contempt—a trooper of the name of Pudens, disgusted at his jeers and his presumption, and probably too, thoughtlessly encouraged by observing his diminutive stature, sprang forward, and was gaining on his foe in the encounter in all other respects, when he was betrayed by fortune. For, having fallen, Jonathes ran in upon him, and dispatched him, and then, trampling on the corpse, and brandishing his bloody sword, and with his left hand waving his shield, he shouted aloud to the army, insulting over his prostrate adversary, and gibing at the Romans who were looking on; until one Priscus, a centurion, took aim and transfixed him with an arrow, while thus leaping and insanely gesticulating; on which counter cries arose simultaneously from the Jews and Romans. Jonathes, writhing with pain, fell on the body of his antagonist; an illustration of that speedy retribution which in war overtakes those who have met with unaccountable success.

CHAPTER III.

1. THE insurgents in the temple were now without intermission engaged in open and daily efforts to repel the soldiers upon the mounds; and on the twenty-seventh of the above-named month they concerted the following stratagem. Along the western colonnade, they filled the space between the rafters and the ceiling underneath with dry wood, bitumen, and pitch, and then, as if utterly worn out, withdrew from the place. On this many rash spirits, hurried away by impetuosity, pressed close upon those retiring, and, applying the scaling ladders, hastily ascended to the gallery; the more prudent, suspecting this unaccountable retreat of the Jews, remained stationary.

The gallery, however, being filled with those who had hurried up, the Jews thereupon set fire to the whole range from below. The flames rising up suddenly on every side, those of the Romans who were removed from the danger were seized with dreadful consternation: while those involved in it were in a state of utter helplessness. Encircled by the flames, some precipitated themselves backward into the city, some into the midst of the enemy. Many,

leaping down among their friends, in hope of saving themselves, fractured their limbs: but most of them in their efforts to escape were overtaken by the fire; and some with the sword anticipated the flames. The fire, extending far and wide, instantly enveloped even those who would have met death in some other form.

Cæsar, though angry at those who were perishing for having mounted the gallery without orders, beheld them notwithstanding with compassion, impossible as it was to relieve them. This, however, was a consolation to the sufferers, that they saw him for whom they were yielding up their lives deeply grieving at their fate. For in view of all he called aloud to them, and, springing forward, exhorted those around him to make every effort for their rescue. Thus each, carrying with him the words and regret of Cæsar, as splendid obsequies, cheerfully expired. Some, indeed, retiring to the wall of the gallery, which was broad, were preserved from the conflagration; but, being surrounded by the Jews, all at length fell, after maintaining, wounded as they were, a protracted resistance.

2. Towards the close of the struggle, one of them, a young man, by name Longus, reflected a lustre on the whole tragedy, and, while all that perished were severally deserving of mention, proved himself pre-eminently the most valiant. The Jews, who admired him for his courage, and were unable otherwise to destroy him, encouraged him to come down to them under pledge of protection. His brother Cornelius, on the other hand, besought him not to tarnish their honour, or that of the Roman arms. Influenced by him, he raised his sword in view of both armies, and stabbed himself.

Among those entangled in the flames, one Artorius was preserved by a piece of craft. Calling with a loud voice to one Lucius, a fellow-soldier and tent-companion, "I leave you," said he, "heir to my property, if you come near and catch me." Lucius promptly running up, Artorius threw himself on him, and was saved; while he who received him, dashed by his weight against the pavement, was killed upon the spot.

This disaster for the present occasioned dejection to the Romans; but nevertheless it rendered them more circumspect for the future, and was of service to them against the wily stratagems of the Jews, in which it was mainly from their ignorance of the localities, and from the character of the men, that they suffered. The gallery was burned down as far as the tower, which John, during his feuds with Simon, had erected above the gate that led out beyond the Xystus. The remainder, after the destruction of those who had ascended it, was demolished by the Jews. The day following, the Romans also

fired the whole of the northern colonnade as far as the eastern, the connecting angle of which was built over the ravine called Kedron ; whence also the depth at that point was terrific. Such was the state of affairs in the temple.

3. Incalculable was the multitude of those who perished by famine in the city ; and beyond description the sufferings they endured. In every house, if anywhere there appeared but the shadow of food, a conflict ensued ; those united by the tenderest ties fiercely contending, and snatching from one another the miserable supports of life. Nor were even the dying allowed the credit of being in want : nay, even those who were just expiring the brigands would search, lest any, with food concealed under a fold of his garment, should feign death. Gaping with hunger, as maddened dogs, they went staggering to and fro and prowling about, assailing the doors like drunken men, and in bewilderment rushing into the same house twice or thrice in one hour. The cravings of nature led them to gnaw anything ; and what would be rejected by the very filthiest of the brute creation they were fain to collect and eat. Even from their belts and shoes they were at length unable to refrain, and they tore off and chewed the very leather of their shields. To some, wisps of old hay served for food ; for the fibres were gathered, and the smallest quantities sold for four Attic pieces.

But why speak of the famine as despising restraint in the use of things inanimate, when I am about to state an instance of it to which, in the history of Greeks or Barbarians, no parallel is to be found ; and which is as horrible to relate, as it is incredible to hear ? Gladly, indeed, would I have omitted to mention the occurrence, lest I should be thought by future generations to deal in the marvellous, had I not innumerable witnesses among my contemporaries. I should, besides, pay my country but a cold compliment, were I to suppress the narration of the woes which she actually suffered.

4. Beyond the Jordan, in the village of Betheszob, a term signifying "the House of Hyssop," resided a woman of the name of Mary, daughter of Eleazar, and distinguished by family and fortune, who having fled with the rest of the people to Jerusalem, was there detained in siege. Of the property which she had packed up, and conveyed from Peræa into the city, the tyrants had made prey : the relics of her stores, with whatever food she contrived to get, the men of the body-guard, daily rushing in, carried away. Deeply incensed at this, the wretched woman frequently upbraided and cursed them, and thus exasperated the plunderers against her. As no one either from exasperation or compassion put her to death, weary of finding

food for others, and it being, indeed, now impossible from any quarter to procure it, while famine darted through her bowels and marrow, and rage fired her even more than hunger—prompted thus by the double incentive of indignation and necessity, she proceeded to commit an outrage on nature, and seizing her child—still an infant at the breast—“Wretched babe,” she cried, “amidst war, famine, and sedition, to what end should I preserve thee? With the Romans, even should we live to fall into their hands, slavery awaits us: but famine is forestalling servitude; and more terrible than both are the insurgents! Come then, be food to me, to them an avenging fury, and to the world a tale, such as alone is wanting to the calamities of the Jews.”

With these words she killed her son: then, having roasted the body and eaten half of it, she covered up the remainder, and carefully put it aside. Instantly the insurgents were upon her, and, scenting the accursed savour, threatened her with immediate death, if she did not produce what she had prepared; on which, remarking that she had reserved an excellent portion for them also, she uncovered the remains of her child. Seized with sudden horror and amazement of mind, they stood motionless at the sight. “This is my own child,” she said, “and this my work. Eat, for I too have eaten. Be not more delicate than a woman, more tender-hearted than a mother. But, if you have any religious scruples, and turn away from my sacrifice, as I have already eaten half, let the remainder be left for me.” On this they withdrew trembling—in this single instance cowards; scarcely yielding even this food to the mother. The whole city was instantly filled with this fearful deed, and each putting the occurrence before his eyes, shuddered as if it were some strange crime perpetrated by himself. Pressed by famine, the sufferers longed for death, and pronounced those happy who, before they had heard and seen such evils, had bid adieu to life.

5. To the Romans also this dreadful occurrence was quickly communicated. Some of them disbelieved, some pitied, the greater part were led to conceive a more vehement hatred of the nation. Cæsar declared in the sight of God his innocence in this matter also, alleging—that he, on his part, tendered the Jews peace and independence, and an amnesty for all past offences; but that they, preferring as they did faction to concord, war to peace, famine to profusion and abundance, and having been the first to set fire with their own hands to that temple, which we were seeking to preserve, were indeed worthy even of such food as this. But he would bury the abomination of a mother devouring her child under the very ruins of their country, and would not leave on the face of the earth, for the sun to behold,

a city in which mothers were thus fed. Verily, such food was less meet for mothers, than for fathers who, after calamities so great, still continued in arms. While giving utterance to these sentiments, he moreover had in mind the desperation of the men; assured that they were past recovery, who had already endured all those miseries, through apprehension of which it was to be expected they would have relented.

CHAPTER IV.

1. Two of the legions having at length completed their mounds on the eighth of the month Louis, Titus ordered the battering-rams to be brought up at the western wing of the inner temple. Previous to the use of these, the most powerful of all the besieging-towers had during six days incessantly battered the wall without effect; both against this, and against the others, the magnitude and compactness of the stones were proof. A part of the army endeavoured to undermine the foundations of the northern gate; and after great labour, succeeded in rolling out the front stones. But the gate itself, supported by the inner stones, remained firm, until the Romans, giving up in despair all attempts with engines and levers, applied scaling-ladders to the galleries. The Jews were in no hurry to prevent them; but when once they had mounted, attacked them with vigour. Some they thrust back and hurled down headlong; others they encountered and slew. Many, as they were stepping off the ladders, they cut down with their swords, before they could cover themselves with their shields. Several ladders, laden with armed men, they pushed aside from above and dashed to the ground. The slaughter among themselves also was by no means inconsiderable. But the Romans, having succeeded in bringing up their ensigns, sustained the battle around them, deeming their loss an indelible disgrace; yet, eventually, the ensigns also fell into the hands of the Jews, who destroyed all who had mounted. The remainder, intimidated by the fate of their comrades, retreated. Of the Romans, there was not one who had not achieved something before he fell; of the insurgents, those who had acquired renown in former conflicts fought gallantly also in this; as did Eleazar, nephew of the tyrant Simon. Titus, on seeing that his forbearance towards a foreign temple was attended with injury and slaughter to his own troops, ordered the gates to be set on fire.



COLOSSAL STONE IN THE QUARRY, BAALBEC.

2. In the meantime deserted to him Ananus of Ammaus, the most sanguinary of Simon's body-guard, and Archelaüs, son of Magadates; hoping for pardon because they withdrew from the Jews at a moment of success. Titus, however, taxed them with villany in acting thus; and, having heard besides of their cruelties to the Jews, he was strongly inclined to put them both to death, observing, "that they had been forced by necessity, not led by inclination, to come to him, and that those were undeserving of mercy, who hastened to leave their native city when enveloped in the flame kindled through their means." His good faith, however, overcame his resentment, and he allowed them to depart, though he did not put them on an equal footing with the others.

Already had the soldiers applied the fire to the gates, and the silver melting around, quickly admitted the flames to the wood-work, whence they spread in a continuous volume, and seized on the galleries. The Jews, seeing the fire encircling them, lost all energy alike of mind and body; and such was their consternation, that no one attempted either to ward off or extinguish the devouring element:—they stood motionless spectators. Nevertheless, though disheartened at what was already consuming, they did not learn wisdom in regard to what was left; but, as if the very sanctuary were now in flames, they whetted their resentment against the Romans. During that day and the succeeding night the fire continued to rage; for they could only apply it to the galleries in detached places, and not to the whole range at once.

3. On the following morning, Titus, having directed a division of his troops to extinguish the flames, and prepare a way to the gates for the more easy ascent of the legions, convened the generals. Six of the most distinguished were assembled; Tiberius Alexander, who had the command of all the forces; Sextus Cerealius, Larcius Lepidus, and Titus Phrygius, who led respectively the fifth, the tenth, and the fifteenth legions; Fronto of Liternum, under whose orders were the two legions from Alexandria, and Marcus Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judæa: and, the procurators and tribunes being next convened, he brought forward the subject of the sanctuary. Some were inclined "to enforce the right of war; for the Jews," they said, "would never desist from projects of disaffection, while the temple remained as a point of concourse to them from all quarters." Others advised that, "if the Jews should leave it, and no longer occupy it as a military position, it should be spared; but, should they ascend it for warlike purposes, it should be burned, as it would then be a fortress, and no longer a sanctuary: and thenceforward the

impiety would attach, not to the Romans, but to those who compelled them to have recourse to such measures."

Titus, however, declared, that "even should the Jews ascend it, and from thence maintain the war, yet they ought not to wreak their vengeance on things inanimate instead of men, or burn down so magnificent a work; for to the Romans would be the injury, even as it would be an ornament to the empire, were it allowed to stand." Encouraged by these observations, Fronto, Alexander, and Cerealius expressed their concurrence in his views. He then dissolved the council, and, having directed the generals to allow the other troops repose, that they might be the more vigorous in the action, he ordered the picked men from the cohorts to open a way through the ruins, and extinguish the fire.

4. Throughout that day, fatigue and consternation overpowered the energies of the Jews; but on the following day, about the second hour, with recruited strength, and renewed confidence, they sallied forth through the eastern gate upon the guards of the outer court of the temple. The Romans undauntedly received their charge, and, forming a screen with their shields in front like a wall, they closed up their ranks. It was evident, however, that they could not hold together long, being overpowered by the number and fury of those who sallied out. Cæsar, anticipating the turn of the engagement—for he was looking on from the Antonia—proceeded to their assistance with his picked body of cavalry.

The Jews did not withstand their charge; but, the foremost of them having been cut down, the main body retreated. Yet whenever the Romans retired, they rallied and returned to the attack, but again fled on their wheeling round; until at length, about the fifth hour of the day, the Jews were overpowered and shut up in the inner court of the temple.

5. Titus now withdrew into the Antonia, determined on the following morning, about daybreak, to attack with his whole force and invest the temple. That edifice God had, indeed, long since destined to the flames; but now in revolving years had arrived the fated day, the tenth of the month Loüs, the very day on which the former temple had been burned by the king of Babylon. But it was from the Jews themselves that those flames derived alike their commencement and their cause. For Titus having retired, the insurgents, after a short breathing time, again charged the Romans; when a conflict ensued between the guards of the sanctuary and the troops who were endeavouring to extinguish the conflagration in the inner court; and these, having routed the Jews, penetrated even to the sanctuary.

At this moment a soldier, neither waiting for orders, nor awed by so dread a deed, but hurried on by some supernatural impulse, snatched a brand from the blazing timber, and, being lifted up by one of his comrades, threw in the fire through a small golden door by which was the entrance on the north side into the apartments around the sanctuary. As the flame ascended, a cry, commensurate with the calamity, was raised by the Jews, who flocked to the rescue, no longer sparing life, nor husbanding their strength, now that that was perishing, for the sake of which they had hitherto been so vigilant.

6. Titus was reposing in his tent after the action, when one rushed in with the tidings. Starting up just as he was, he ran to the spot to arrest the flames, followed by all the general officers, and these accompanied by the astounded legion. Clamour there was, and confusion, such as would naturally result from the disorderly movement of so large a force. Cæsar, both with voice and hand, signified to the combatants to extinguish the fire; but they heard not his shouts, pre-occupied as were their ears by louder clamour; nor heeded they the waving of his hand, some distracted by the ardour of battle, some by rage. The impetuosity of the legions, as they rushed in, neither persuasion nor threats restrained. Fury guided all; and, crushing together about the entrances, many were trampled down by their comrades; whilst many, falling amongst the still hot and smouldering ruins of the colonnade, were involved in the calamities of the vanquished.

As they came near the sanctuary, pretending not even to hear Cæsar's orders, they exhorted those before them to throw in the torches. The insurgents were now bereft of all power to assist; on every side was carnage and flight. The greater part of the slain consisted of citizens, a feeble and unarmed people, each butchered where he was caught. Around the altar heaps of dead were accumulating; down its steps flowed a stream of blood; and over them slid the bodies of those who met their doom above.

7. Cæsar, as he was utterly unable to repress the impetuosity of the troops, who were wild with fanaticism, and the fire was gaining the mastery, entered with his generals, and surveyed the holy place of the sanctuary, and all that it contained—far exceeding its fame among foreigners, and not inferior to its proud pre-eminence and reputation among ourselves. As the flames had as yet nowhere penetrated to the interior, but were feeding on the apartments around the temple, Titus, rightly conjecturing that it was still possible to preserve the structure, hurried forth, and endeavoured, in person, to prevail on the soldiers to extinguish the conflagration; at the same time

directing Liberalius, a centurion of the spearmen retained about his person, to chastise with staves, and thus restrain the refractory. But even their respect for Cæsar, and their fear of the centurion who was endeavouring to stop them, were overpowered by rage, by hatred of the Jews, and by the excitement of arms, more ungovernable still. But the greater part were stimulated by the hope of plunder, impressed as they were with the belief that all within was filled with treasures, and actually seeing that everything about it was made of gold. Though Cæsar had rushed forth to restrain the soldiers, one even of those who had entered with him frustrated his intention by thrusting fire, amid the darkness, into the hinges of the gate; whereupon the flame having suddenly burst forth from within, Cæsar and the generals withdrew, and no one hindered those on the outside from applying their torches. Thus, then, was the sanctuary, in spite of Cæsar, set on fire.

8. But deeply as one might mourn over a fabric, the most marvellous of all which we have either seen or heard of, whether we consider its architecture or its magnitude, the sumptuousness of its details, or the glory of its holy places, yet may we derive the highest consolation from the reflection that fate is inevitable, as to human beings, so also as to works and places. And truly remarkable was the exactness of the cycle observed by it; for it waited, as I have said, until the very month, and the very day, on which the temple had been previously burned by the Babylonians. From its first foundation by king Solomon, until its present destruction, which took place in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, we compute one thousand one hundred and thirty years, seven months, and fifteen days; from its restoration by Haggai in the second year of king Cyrus, until its destruction under Vespasian, six hundred and thirty-nine years, and forty-five days.

CHAPTER V.

1. WHILE the sanctuary was in flames, every thing that fell in their way became a prey to rapine, and prodigious was the slaughter of those found there. To no age was pity shown, to no rank respect; but children and old men, secular persons and priests, were overwhelmed in one common ruin. All ranks were enclosed in the embrace of war, and hunted down—as well those who sued for mercy, as those who made

defence. The flames, borne far and wide, united their roar with the groans of the falling ; and owing to the height of the hill, and the magnitude of the burning pile, one would have supposed the entire city in a blaze. Than the din of that moment nothing could be conceived louder or more fearful. There was the exulting war-cry of the Roman legions, as they moved in mass, the shrieks of the insurgents, encircled by fire and sword, and the wailing of the people over their calamities, as deserted on the high ground, they turned in consternation towards the enemy. The multitude in the city blended their cries with the cries of those upon the hill ; and now, many emaciated by famine, and whose lips had closed, when they beheld the sanctuary in a blaze, again gathered strength for lamentations and cries. The city beyond returned the echo, as did the mountains around, deepening the uproar : yet were the sufferings still more fearful than the confusion. You would indeed have thought that the hill on which the sacred edifice stood was boiling up from its base, being everywhere one mass of flame, and that the stream of blood was ampler still than the fire, and the slaughtered more numerous than the slaughterers. The ground was nowhere visible, so covered was it with the dead ; but the soldiers had to climb over heaps of bodies in pursuit of the fugitives. At length, however, the brigand crowd having forced back the Romans, opened a way with difficulty into the outer court of the temple, and from thence into the town. What remained of the populace took refuge upon the outer colonnade.

Some of the priests at first tore up the spikes, with their leaden sockets, from the sanctuary, and hurled them at the Romans ; but afterwards, finding all unavailing, and the flames already bursting forth against them, they retired to the wall, which was eight cubits in breadth, and there remained. Two men of distinction, however, Meirus, son of Belgas, and Josephus, son of Dalæus, who, if so inclined, might have saved their lives by going over to the Romans, or have held out and taken their chance with the rest, plunged into the fire, and perished in the flames of the temple.

2. The Romans, thinking it useless, now that the sanctuary was burning, to spare the buildings around, set fire to them all, both the remains of the colonnades and the gates, two of the latter excepted, one on the east, and the other on the south. These also they subsequently razed to the foundations. They burned, likewise, the treasure chambers, in which were immense sums of money, garments innumerable, and other valuables ; for this, in a word, was the general repository of Jewish wealth, the houses of the opulent having

been there dismantled. The Romans next proceeded to the remaining colonnade of the outer court of the temple, on which the women and children of the populace had taken refuge, with a vast promiscuous multitude, amounting to six thousand.

Before Cæsar had determined respecting them, or the officers had given orders, the soldiers, hurried on by rage, set fire to the colonnade; whereupon some, throwing themselves out of the flames, thus lost their lives, others perished amid them; so that, of so great a multitude, not one escaped. Their destruction was caused by a false prophet, who had on that day proclaimed to those remaining in the city, that "God commanded them to go up to the temple, there to receive the signs of their deliverance." There were at this period many prophets suborned by the tyrants to delude the people, by bidding them wait for help from God, in order that there might be less desertion, and that those who were above fear and control might be encouraged by hope. Under calamities man readily yields to persuasion; but when the deceiver pictures to him deliverance from pressing evils, then the sufferer is wholly influenced by hope.

3. Thus it was that the impostors and pretended messengers of Heaven at that time beguiled the wretched people; while the manifest portents that foreshowed the approaching desolation they neither heeded nor credited; but, as if confounded and bereft alike of eyes and mind, they disregarded the immediate warnings of God. Thus it was when a star resembling a sword stood over the city, and a comet which continued for a year. Thus also it was, when, prior to the revolt and the first movements of the war, at the time when the people were assembling for the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night, so vivid a light shone round the altar and the sanctuary that it seemed to be bright day; and this lasted for half an hour. By the inexperienced this was deemed favourable, but by the sacred scribes it was at once pronounced a prelude of that which afterwards happened. At the same festival also, a cow having been led by some one to the sacrifice, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the court of the temple. Moreover, the eastern gate of the inner court—which was of brass and extremely massive, and, when closed towards evening, could scarcely be moved by twenty men, and which was fastened with bars shod with iron, and secured by bolts sunk to a great depth in a threshold which consisted of one stone throughout—was observed, about the sixth hour of the night, to have opened of its own accord. The guards of the temple ran and informed the captain, who having repaired to the spot could scarcely succeed in shutting it. This again to

the unlearned seemed a most auspicious omen ; for God, they thought, had unfolded to them the gate of blessings ; but the learned considered that the security of the temple was dissolving of its own accord, and the gate opened for the advantage of the enemy ; and explained it among themselves as a sign of impending desolation.

Not many days after the festival, on the twenty-first of the month Artemisius, there appeared a phenomenon so marvellous as to exceed credibility. What I am about to relate would, I conceive, be deemed a mere fable, had it not been related by eye-witnesses, and attended by calamities commensurate with such portents. Before sunset were seen around the whole country chariots poised in the air, and armed battalions speeding through the clouds and investing the cities. And at the feast which is called Pentecost, the priests having entered the inner court of the temple by night, as was their custom, for discharge of their ministrations, their attention was drawn at first, they said, by a movement and a clanging noise, and after this by a voice as of a multitude, " We are departing hence."

But a story more fearful still remains. Four years prior to the war, while the city was enjoying the utmost peace and prosperity, there came to the feast in which it is the custom for all to erect tabernacles to God, one Jesus, son of Ananus, a rustic of humble parentage, who, standing in the temple, suddenly began to call aloud, " A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds ; a voice against Jerusalem and the sanctuary, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, a voice against all the people." Day and night he traversed all the streets with this cry. Some citizens, incensed at so ominous a voice, apprehended the man, and severely scourged him. But without uttering a word in his own behalf, nor anything privately to those who beat him, he continued his cry as before. At length the rulers, supposing, and justly so, that the man was under some supernatural impulse, conducted him to the presence of the Roman procurator, where, though lacerated with scourges to the very bone, he neither sued for mercy nor shed a tear : but modulating his voice to a tone the most mournful that was possible, repeated at every stroke, " Woe ! woe ! unto Jerusalem." Albinus the procurator, demanding who he was ? and whence ? and why he uttered these words ? he made no manner of reply, desisting not from his lamentation over the city, until Albinus, concluding that he was a maniac, set him at liberty.

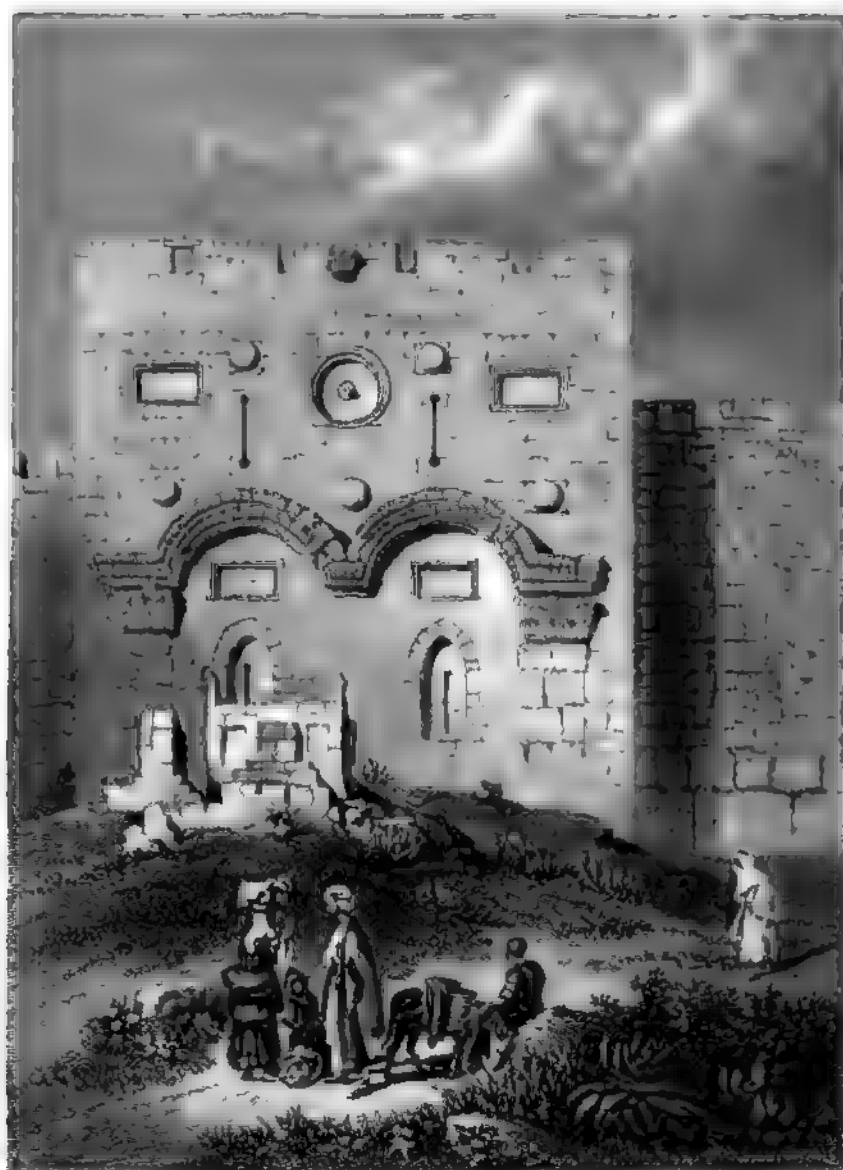
Up to the breaking out of the war, he neither associated with any of the citizens, nor was he seen to speak to any one ; but, as if it were a prayer that he had been meditating upon, daily uttered his lament,

“Woe! woe! unto Jerusalem.” He neither cursed those who beat him from day to day, nor gave his blessing to such as supplied him with food: to all, the melancholy presage was his one reply. His voice was loudest at the festivals; and, though for seven years and five months he continued his wail, neither did his voice become feeble nor did he grow weary, until, during the siege, after beholding his presages verified, he ceased. For, as he was going his round on the wall, crying with a piercing voice, “Woe! woe! once more, to the city, to the people, and to the temple;” when at the last he had added, “Woe! woe! to myself also,” he was struck by a stone shot from the ballista, and killed upon the spot: still uttering with his dying lips the same portentous words.

4. If we reflect on these events, we shall find that God exercises care over men, in every way foreshowing to their race the means of safety: but that they perish through their own folly and self-incurred evils. Thus the Jews, after the demolition of the Antonia, reduced their temple to a square, though they had it recorded in their oracles, that “the city and the sanctuary would be taken, when the temple should become square.” But what chiefly incited them to the war was an ambiguous prophecy, likewise found in their sacred writings, that “about this period some one from their country should obtain the empire of the world.” This they received as applying to themselves, and many eminent for wisdom were deceived in the interpretation of it. The oracle, however, in reality indicated the elevation of Vespasian—he having been proclaimed emperor in Judæa. But it is not possible for men to avoid their fate, even though they foresee it. Some of these portents they interpreted according to their pleasure, others they treated with contempt, until their folly was exposed by the conquest of their country, and their own destruction.

CHAPTER VI.

1. THE insurgents having fled into the city, and the sanctuary itself, with all around it, being now enveloped in flames, the Romans carried their ensigns into the temple, and placing them opposite the eastern gate, there sacrificed to them, and with the most joyful acclamations saluted Titus as Imperator. So gluttoned were the soldiers, one and all, with plunder, that throughout Syria the





standard of gold was reduced to half its former value. While the priests held out on the walls of the sanctuary, a boy confessed to the Roman guards that he was suffering from thirst, and besought them to pledge themselves for his safety. Taking pity on his youth and distress, they promised him protection; on which he came down and drank, and, having filled with water a vessel which he brought with him, hurried back to his own party. The guards, being unable to overtake him, and cursing his perfidy, he replied, "that he had violated no agreement; for he had received the pledge of protection, not for remaining with them, but merely for going down and procuring water; both which he had done, and therefore considered himself to have fulfilled the compact." The Romans who had been thus outwitted were astonished at this piece of cunning, particularly in so young a boy. On the fifth day, the priests wasted by famine came down, and, being conducted by the guards to Titus, besought him to spare their lives; but he, remarking that "as to them the time for pardon had gone by, and that that had been destroyed, for the sake of which he could alone with propriety have saved them, while it was but fitting that the priests should perish with the temple," ordered them to execution.

2. The tyrants and their partisans, beaten on all sides in the war, and so completely surrounded that escape was nowhere practicable, invited Titus to a conference. Desiring, in the benevolence of his disposition, at all events to save the city, and listening to the persuasions of his friends, who supposed that the brigands were at length brought to reason, Titus took his stand on the western side of the outer court of the temple; there being a gate in that quarter beyond the Xystus, and a bridge which connected the upper town with the temple, and which then intervened between the tyrants and Cæsar. The multitude on both sides stood by in crowds: the Jews around John and Simon, buoyed up with hopes of pardon; the Romans beside Cæsar, anxiously waiting to hear their demand. Titus having charged the soldiers to repress their anger and withhold their weapons, and making the interpreter stand by his side, which was a symbol of conquest, proceeded to address them first.

"Are you then at length, Sirs, sated with the misfortunes of your country;—you, who have neither bestowed a thought on our strength, nor on your own weakness, but through inconsiderate haste and madness have destroyed your people, your city, and your sanctuary, and who yourselves are now justly about to perish;—you, who, in the first place, from the hour when Pompey reduced you by force of arms, have never desisted from disaffection, and in the next, have

waged open war against the Romans? Was it that you confided in your numbers?—yet a mere fraction of the Roman soldiery has been a match for you:—on the fidelity of your confederates? but what nation beyond the limits of our empire would prefer Jews to Romans? You relied on your strength of body, perhaps? And yet you are aware that the Germans are our slaves:—on the firmness of your walls? But what wall can present a greater obstacle than the ocean? And yet, though by this environed, the Britons do homage to the Roman arms!—on the determination of spirit and the subtlety of your leaders? But then ye knew that even Carthaginians had bowed to our sway!

“It must then have been Roman humanity which incited you against the Romans—against us, who, in the first place, allowed you the use of this land, and placed over you kings of your own blood: who, in the next place, observed the laws of your fathers and permitted you to live as you were disposed, not only among yourselves, but also in your dealings with others: who, above all, permitted you to exact tribute for God, and to collect offerings, without admonishing or hindering those who brought them; that so ye might become our richer enemies, and might make preparations against us at our own expense. And yet, while enjoying such privileges, you turned your superabundance against those from whom it was derived, and like untameable reptiles vented your poison against those who caressed you.

“Be it so, then: ye despised the indolence of Nero, and, like fractures or convulsions, having hitherto malignantly kept quiet, when a greater disorder occurred, ye evinced your true character, and extended your desires to shameless and unbounded expectations. My father came into the country, not to punish you for your conduct to Cestius, but to admonish you. Had he come for the destruction of the nation, his course would have been to lay the axe at the root, and instantly lay waste this city; whereas he proceeded to ravage Galilee and the neighbouring districts, thus affording you time for repentance. But to you his humanity seemed weakness, and with our clemency you fed your audacity. On the death of Nero, acting the part of the most wicked of men, and encouraged by our intestine troubles, when my father and I were at a distance from you in Egypt, you abused your opportunities in preparing for hostilities. And you were not ashamed to harass those, when elevated to the empire, whose humanity as generals you had experienced. Accordingly, when the empire had taken refuge with us, when all throughout it was tranquil, and foreign nations were sending embassies of congratulation, again the Jews took up arms. There were embassies sent by you to those

beyond the Euphrates for insurrectionary purposes; fortifications building up anew; seditions and contentions of tyrants, and a civil war;—things alone worthy of men so wicked. I repaired to this city with gloomy injunctions from my father, who had given them with reluctance. When I heard that the people were disposed to peace, I rejoiced. Ere hostilities commenced, I exhorted you to pause; for a long time after you began them, I spared you. I gave pledges of protection to deserters: when they took refuge with me, I kept faith with them. Many captives I compassionated; by the torture I restrained those who oppressed them. With reluctance I brought up engines against your walls: my soldiers, thirsting for your blood, I invariably held back; and after every victory, as if defeated myself, I invited you to peace. When I approached the temple, I again willingly forgot the laws of war, and besought you to spare your own shrines, and preserve the sanctuary for yourselves, granting you freedom of egress and assurance of safety, or, if you wished, opportunity to select some other field of battle. But you treated all with contempt, and with your own hands fired the sanctuary.

“And is it after all this, most abominable of men, that you now invite me to a conference? What have you to save that can be compared with what is lost? Of what deliverance do you deem yourselves deserving after the ruin of your temple? But even now you stand in arms, and though in the last extremity, do not so much as assume the guise of suppliants. Miserable men! on what do you depend? Is not your people dead? your sanctuary swept away? your city in my power? your lives in my hands? And yet do you deem it a glorious proof of fortitude to struggle with death? I will, however, maintain no contest with your desperation. Throw down your arms, deliver up your persons, and I grant you life, as an indulgent master of a household, chastising the incorrigible, and preserving the rest for myself.”

3. To this they replied, that they could not accept a pledge of protection from him, as they had sworn never to do so; but they solicited permission to pass through his line of circumvallation with their wives and children, promising to retire into the desert, and leave the town to him. Indignant that men in the position of prisoners should proffer to him terms of conquerors, Titus directed that proclamation be made to them, “neither to desert nor hope for protection any longer, as he would give quarter to none; but to fight with all their might, and save themselves as they could. For the right of war should thenceforth regulate all his measures.”

Orders were then issued to the troops to plunder and burn the city. On that day, however, nothing was done; but on the following, they

set fire to the residence of the magistrates, the Acra, the council-chamber, and the place called Ophla, the flames spreading as far as the palace of queen Helena, which was in the centre of the Acra. The streets also were consumed, and the houses, which were crowded with the bodies of those who had perished by famine.

4. On the same day, the sons and brothers of king Izates, with many men of eminence among the people assembled there, entreated Caesar to grant them a pledge of protection. Though highly incensed at all who survived, Titus, with his accustomed humanity, received them, and for the present detained them all in custody. The king's sons and relatives, however, he subsequently bound and conducted to Rome, as hostages for the fidelity of their country.

CHAPTER VII.

1. THE insurgents now rushed to the palace, in which, owing to its strength, many had deposited their property; and, having dislodged the Romans, they slew the whole mass of people who had there congregated, to the number of eight thousand four hundred, and made prey of their money. They moreover made prisoners of two Romans, one a trooper, the other a foot-soldier. The latter they slaughtered on the spot, and dragged round the whole city, as if wreaking vengeance in the person of one upon all the Romans. The trooper, who said that he had something to suggest which would conduce to their safety, was conducted to Simon: but, having nothing to state to him, he was delivered up to Ardalas, one of the officers, to be executed. The latter, having bound his hands behind his back, and fastened a bandage over his eyes, led him forth opposite to the Romans, there to be beheaded. But while the Jew was in the act of drawing his sword, the trooper managed to escape to the Romans. This man, who had thus effected his escape, Titus could not endure to put to death; but deeming him unworthy to be a Roman soldier, who could allow himself to be taken alive, he stripped him of his arms, and dismissed him from the legion; a punishment, to one accessible to shame, severer even than death.

2. On the ensuing day, the Romans, having driven the brigands from the lower town, burned all, as far as Siloam. They rejoiced in the

destruction of the city, although they obtained no plunder, the insurgents clearing everything away before they retired into the upper town. For they felt no remorse for their misdeeds, but assumed rather an air of conceit as though all was well. Thus when they beheld the city in a blaze, they declared with joyous countenances, that they cheerfully awaited their end; inasmuch as, the people having been slaughtered, the temple burned, and the town being in flames, they had left nothing for their foes.

Josephus, however, even in this extremity, ceased not to implore them in behalf of the remains of the city. He insisted much on their cruelty and impiety, and offered them much advice on the means of securing their safety; but the only return they made him was derision. Since they could not think of surrendering, on account of their oath, and were no longer capable, pent up as in an enclosure, of maintaining the conflict with the Romans on equal terms, and their hands were stimulated by familiarity with slaughter, they dispersed themselves before the town, and lay in ambush among the ruins for those who were inclined to desert. Many, who from the effects of famine had not even strength enough for flight, were taken and massacred, and their bodies thrown to the dogs. Death under any form seemed lighter than famine: so that, though now without hope of commiseration, they fled nevertheless to the Romans, and, though the insurgents continued to murder, voluntarily threw themselves in their way. Not a spot in the city was uncovered; not a corner, but contained some corpse, the victim of famine or sedition: all places were filled with the dead bodies of such as had perished from one cause or the other.

3. The last hope that buoyed up the tyrants and their brigand bands, lay in the subterraneous excavations, in which, should they take refuge, they expected that no search would be made for them; and purposed, after the final overthrow of the city, when the Romans should have withdrawn, to come forth, and seek safety in flight. But this was after all a mere dream; for they were unable to hide themselves from the observation either of God, or of the Romans. For the time, however, confiding in these underground retreats, they were more active in the work of conflagration than the Romans; and all who fled from the flames into the caverns they slaughtered ruthlessly and plundered. If ever they found any one with food, they would snatch it from him and devour it, though defiled with blood. Now at length they had war also one with another about their depredations: and I cannot but think, that, had not their capture prevented them, they would through excess of savageness have tasted the very dead.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. CÆSAR, as it was impracticable from the precipitous site of the upper town to reduce it without mounds, on the twentieth of the month Lous apportioned the works among his troops. To procure timber, however, was a difficult task, all the country around the city to the distance of a hundred furlongs having been stripped bare, as I have stated, for the former mounds. The works of the four legions were raised on the western side of the city, opposite to the royal palace, while the auxiliaries and the rest of the force laboured in the region of the Xystus, the bridge, and the tower which Simon, during his contest with John, had built as a fortress for himself.

2. At this juncture the chiefs of the Idumæans met secretly to consult about surrendering themselves; and, having sent a deputation of five to Titus, they besought his protection. Cæsar, in the hope that, if the Idumæans, who formed their main dependence in the war, were withdrawn, the tyrants also would surrender, after some hesitation complied with their request, and sent the men back. But while they were preparing to retire, Simon became aware of their intentions, and ordered to instant execution the five who had repaired to Titus; but the generals, of whom the most distinguished was James the son of Sosas, he apprehended and threw into prison. The body of the Idumæans, deprived of their leaders, and in consequence at a loss how to act, were henceforward narrowly watched by Simon, who secured the walls with more vigilant guards.

But their efforts to prevent desertion were unavailing. For, although very many were slain, the number of those who made their escape was far greater. The Romans received all, Titus, from his natural lenity, having disregarded his former orders, and the soldiers themselves being sated with blood and, in the hope of gain, abstaining from slaughter. For the citizens only were allowed to remain: the others, with the women and children, were sold, each at an extremely low price, both from the glut of the market, and from the dearth of purchasers. Though Titus, to induce them to bring out their families as well, had directed by proclamation that none should desert alone, yet even to those who did so he did not refuse his protection; appointing, however, proper persons to separate from among them any who might be deserving of punishment. The number of



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those sold was incalculable. Of the citizens were spared above forty thousand, whom Cæsar allowed to retire whither inclination led.

3. About this period, one of the priests also, named Jesus, son of Thebuthi, having received a promise of protection, ratified by oath, from Cæsar, on condition of his delivering up certain of the sacred treasures, came out and handed from the wall of the sanctuary two candlesticks, similar to those deposited in the sanctuary, with tables and bowls and cups, all of solid gold and extremely massive. He also delivered up the veils and other vestments of the high-priests, with the precious stones, and many other articles used in the sacred ministrations. Moreover, the keeper of the temple-treasury, whose name was Phineas, being taken, pointed out the tunics and girdles worn by the priests, with much purple and scarlet, which were laid up for the uses of the veil, and a profusion also of cinnamon and cassia, and a quantity of other spices, which they mixed and offered daily as incense to God. Many also of the other treasures were delivered up by him, with numerous sacred ornaments; in consideration of which, though a prisoner of war, he was granted the pardon vouchsafed to voluntary deserters.

4. On the seventh of the month Gorpiaëus, the mounds having been at length, in eighteen days, completed, the Romans brought up their machines: on which a section of the insurgents, who had abandoned all hopes of the town, retired from the ramparts to the Acra; others slunk down into the caverns; while a considerable number, taking their stand at intervals, endeavoured to repel those who were bringing up the besieging-towers. These also the Romans overpowered by numbers and strength, but more particularly because, in good spirits themselves, they had to deal with men already dispirited and enfeebled.

A part of the wall having been battered down, and some of the towers having yielded to the shocks of the rams, the defenders straightway took to flight, and even the tyrants were seized with a panic beyond what the occasion warranted. For before the enemy mounted the breach, they were stupified, and wavering as to flight. Then might be seen men formerly so proud, and who plumed themselves on their deeds of impiety, abject and trembling: insomuch that, flagitious as they were, their reverse was piteous. They were minded indeed to rush forth against the enemies' lines, in order to drive back the guards, cut their way through, and escape. But when they could nowhere see their once faithful adherents—for these had fled whithersoever the emergency prompted—while some came running forwards, with the tidings that the whole of the wall on the west was in ruins; some, that the

Romans had entered; some, that they were even now close at hand and searching for them; and others, misled by terror, affirmed that they actually saw the enemy on the towers;—they fell upon their face, bewailing their utter infatuation, and, as if their sinews had been severed, were unable to fly.

Here we may clearly discern at once the power of God over the unholy, and the fortune of the Romans. For the tyrants deprived themselves of their security, and descended voluntarily from those towers, against which no human efforts could have availed, and where famine alone could have subdued them: while the Romans, after having toiled so much before weaker walls, obtained through the favour of fortune what never would have yielded to their engines. For against the three towers, which we have before described, any machine whatever would have been useless.

5. Having then abandoned these, or rather having been driven down from them by God, they fled immediately into the ravine below Siloam. Afterwards, when they had recovered a little from their panic, they furiously assailed the barrier in that quarter. But, their courage not being equal to the crisis—their energy being broken at once by terror and misfortune—they were repulsed by the guards; and dispersing, crept into the caverns. The Romans being masters of the ramparts, planted their ensigns on the towers, and with joy and clapping of hands raised the song of triumph for their victory; having found the close of the war much easier than its commencement. So much so, that when without bloodshed they had surmounted the last rampart, they could scarcely believe it, and, seeing no one to oppose them, were unusually perplexed.

Pouring into the streets sword in hand, they massacred indiscriminately all who fell in their way, and burned the houses with all that had taken shelter in them. In many instances in the course of their depredations, when they entered in search of plunder, they discovered whole families dead, and the apartments filled with the victims of famine. Then, shuddering at the sight, they retired with empty hands. Yet notwithstanding their pity for those who had thus perished, they felt no like compassion for the living, but, running every one through that fell in their way, they blocked up the streets with the dead, and deluged the whole city with blood, so that in numerous instances it extinguished the flames. Towards evening the slaughter abated, but in the night the fire gained the mastery. The eighth day of the month Gorpiaeus, as it dawned, beheld Jerusalem in flames, a city which had suffered such calamities in the siege, that, had she from her first foundation enjoyed a proportionate share of



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STREET IN JERUSALEM

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blessings, she would have been thought singularly enviable ; and undeserving withal of so great misfortunes in every other respect, save that she gave birth to such a race, as that by which she was subverted.

CHAPTER IX.

1. TITUS, on entering the city, was struck with wonder at its strength, and especially at the towers which the tyrants had, through infatuation, abandoned. Indeed, when he contemplated their solid altitude, the magnitude of the several stones, and the accuracy of their joinings, and saw how great was their breadth, how vast their height, " Surely," he exclaimed, " we fought with God on our side ; and God it was who brought the Jews down from these bulwarks ; for what could human hands or engines avail against these towers ? " .

Having addressed many similar observations on that occasion to his friends, he liberated all who had been imprisoned by the tyrants, and left in the forts. And when, at a later period, he destroyed the remainder of the city, and razed the walls, he allowed these towers to stand as a memorial of the favour of fortune, by whose co-operation he had become master of those strongholds, which could never have been reduced by force of arms.

2. The soldiers at length growing weary of slaughter, though the number of the survivors who were still to be seen was considerable, Cæsar issued orders to put to the sword those only who were found in arms, and offered resistance, and to make prisoners of the rest. The troops, however, in addition to those to whom their instructions referred, slew the old and feeble. Those who were in the flower of their age and fit for service were driven together into the temple, and shut up in the court of the women. Cæsar placed as guard over them one of his freed-men, and commissioned his friend Fronto, to assign to each the lot he had deserved. The whole of the insurgents and brigands, who informed against each other, he ordered to execution. The tallest and most handsome of the youth, however, he selected and reserved for his triumph.

Of the residue, those above the age of seventeen were sent in chains to the works in Egypt ; though Titus distributed very many of them through the provinces, to be destroyed in the theatres in

gladiatorial contests, and by wild beasts. Those under seventeen years were sold. There perished from want, during the interval occupied by Fronto in forming his decision, eleven thousand, partly owing to the hatred of the guards, who denied them food, and partly from their own refusal to accept it when offered. There was, moreover, an insufficient supply of food for so vast a multitude.

3. The whole number of prisoners taken during the entire course of the war was calculated at ninety-seven thousand; while those who perished in the siege, from its commencement till its close, amounted to one million one hundred thousand. Of these the greater proportion were of Jewish blood, though not natives of the place. Having assembled from the whole country for the feast of unleavened bread, they were suddenly hemmed in by the war; so that their confined situation caused at first a pestilential mortality, and afterwards famine also, still more rapid in its effects. That the city could contain so many, is evident from the census taken under Cestius, who, wishing to inform Nero, by whom the nation was regarded with contempt, of the strength of the city, requested the chief priests to ascertain, if at all possible, the amount of the population.

On the arrival of the feast called the Passover, at which they sacrifice from the ninth hour till the eleventh, and a kind of fraternity is formed round each sacrifice, consisting of not less than ten men, it being unlawful to feast alone, though as many as twenty frequently assemble, the victims being counted were found to amount to two hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred: which, assuming ten participants to each sacrifice, gives a total of two millions seven hundred thousand, all pure and holy. For those afflicted with leprosy or gonorrhœa, or women labouring under ailments, or persons otherwise defiled, were not permitted to partake of this sacrifice; nor even those aliens who had come for religious purposes.

4. This vast concourse is collected from without the city. But on this occasion the whole nation had been shut up, as in a prison, by fate; and the war encircled the city when it was crowded with men. Accordingly those who perished exceeded in number all that have been swept away by any visitation, human or divine. Of those who did not conceal themselves, some the Romans slaughtered, some they took prisoners; but in their search in the caverns, they tore up the ground, and killed all they lighted on. Here also were found upwards of two thousand dead, of whom some had fallen by their own, some by one another's hands, but the greater part by famine. A dreadful stench from the bodies met those who entered, insomuch that many instantly withdrew, though others were led on by avarice, trampling

upon the heaps of carcases ; for many articles of value were discovered in these passages, and lucre sanctioned every expedient. Many also were brought forth who had been detained in custody by the tyrants ; for even in their extremity they desisted not from cruelty. God, however, visited both with meet retribution ; for John, worn away with hunger in the caverns with his brethren, implored from the Romans that protection which he had often rejected with disdain ; and Simon, after long struggling with necessity, as we shall relate in the sequel, surrendered, and was reserved for execution at the triumph, while John was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The Romans set fire to the extreme quarters of the city, and razed the walls to their foundation.

CHAPTER X.

1. THUS was Jerusalem captured in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth of the month Gorpiaëus. Previously taken on five different occasions, it was now for the second time laid in ruins. Asochæus, king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, then Pompey, and subsequently Sosius and Herod, though they reduced, preserved it. Prior to their days, however, it had been conquered and laid waste by the king of Babylon, one thousand four hundred and sixty-eight years and six months from the date of its foundation. It was originally erected by a prince of the Canaanites, called in the vernacular tongue " The Righteous King " (Melchizedek) : for such indeed, he was. Wherefore he was the first who officiated as the priest of God, and being the first to build the temple, he gave the city, till then styled Salem, the appellation of Jerusalem.

The Canaanitish inhabitants were expelled by David, the king of the Jews who colonized it with his own people ; and it was four hundred and seventy-seven years and six months after his time when it was razed to its foundations by the Babylonians. From the time of David, who was its first Jewish sovereign, until its destruction by Titus, one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years intervened ; and from its first founding till its final overthrow, two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven. Neither its antiquity, nor its vast wealth, nor its people spread over the whole habitable world, nor the great glory of its religious service, could aught avail to avert its ruin. Thus terminated the siege of Jerusalem.



ARGUMENT OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

1. The whole city is razed to the ground, excepting three towers.—Distribution of rewards to the soldiers.—2. Titus exhibits various spectacles at Cæsarea Philippi.—Capture of the tyrant, Simon.—3. Titus celebrates the birth-days of his brother and his father, on which occasions great numbers of the Jews are put to death.—Persecution of the Jews at Antioch.—4. Vespasian's reception at Rome.—Revolt of the Germans.—Inroad of Sarmatians into Moesia.—5. Concerning the river Sabbaticus; and how the people of Antioch applied to Titus against the Jews without success.—Triumph of Vespasian and Titus.—6. Description of Machærus.—Capture of that fortress by Lucilius Bassus.—7. What befel Antiochus, king of Commagene.—Concerning the Alani.—8. Description of Masada; and how Silva conducted the siege of it.—Speech of Eleazar to the garrison.—9. All in the fortress, save two women and five children, fall by one another's hands.—10. Dangers to the Jews of Alexandria from the Sikars who fled thither.—Account of the temple of Onias.—11. Proceedings of Jonathan, a Sikar of Cyrene.







PANARCUS GATE.

111

BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

1. THE soldiery having now none either to slaughter or plunder, everything on which their fury might vent itself being removed—for they certainly would not have abstained from motives of forbearance, so long as there was anything to be done—Cæsar ordered the whole of the city and the sanctuary to be razed to the foundations, leaving the three loftiest towers, Phasaëlus, Hippicus, and Mariamne, and that portion of the wall which enclosed the town on the west:—the latter as an encampment for those who should remain there in garrison; the towers, to indicate to future times how splendid and how strong a city had yielded to Roman valour. All the rest of the wall that encompassed the city was so completely levelled with the ground that there was no longer anything to lead those who visited the spot to believe that it had ever been inhabited. So fell Jerusalem, a victim of revolutionary frenzy: a magnificent city, and celebrated throughout the world.

2. Cæsar determined to leave there on guard the tenth legion, with some troops of cavalry and cohorts of infantry; and all connected with the war being now adjusted, he was anxious to express to the army in general his approbation of their achievements, and to confer suitable rewards on those who had most distinguished themselves. Accordingly a spacious tribunal having been constructed for him in the centre of his former encampment, on this he took his stand with the most distinguished of his officers, so as to be within hearing of the whole army, and delivered an address, in which he assured them that “he felt under great obligations to them for the good-will which they had ever shown him;” and commended them “for the prompt obedience, combined with personal courage, which they had exhibited throughout the war in many imminent dangers; thus making those very dangers a means of augmenting the power of their country, and testifying to all that neither the numbers of the enemy, the strength

of fortresses, the extent of towns, nor the rash daring and savage ferocity of antagonists, can ever baffle the valour of Romans,—even though with some of their foes fortune may in many instances have co-operated. To a glorious conclusion, therefore,” he continued, “had they brought the war, though of such unusual duration; for they could have expected no happier issue when they entered upon it. But still more glorious than this, and reflecting greater lustre upon them, was the fact that those whom they had themselves appointed to be governors and rulers of the Roman empire, and sent forward to the capital, were received with universal satisfaction, their decisions submitted to, and those who nominated them regarded with gratitude.

“Therefore,” he continued, “he could not but admire and love them all, knowing that their alacrity had kept pace with their ability. On those, however, who had more particularly signalized themselves by superior energy, and not only shed a lustre on their own lives by valiant exploits, but also rendered his army more illustrious by their gallant achievements,” he declared that “he should forthwith confer rewards and honours; and that no one who had been emulous to exert himself more than others, should fail of due requital. For to this he had given his utmost attention; as he wished rather to honour the virtues, than to punish the delinquencies, of his fellow-soldiers.”

3. He accordingly gave immediate directions to the proper officers to read the list of those who had performed any splendid feat during the war. Addressing them by name, he applauded them as they came forward, exulting in their exploits as if they were his own. He then placed golden crowns upon their heads, and presented them with golden neck-chains, long golden lances, and silver ensigns, and advanced them severally to a higher rank. He likewise distributed among them, out of the spoils, silver, and gold, and vestments, and of other booty, in profusion. All being rewarded, as he judged each to have deserved, after wishing to his army collectively every happiness, he descended amidst many acclamations, and proceeded to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving for his success. A vast number of oxen being ranged beside the altars, he sacrificed them all, and distributed them to the troops for a banquet.

Having himself also joined in festivities with his officers for three days, he dismissed the remaining force whither it was convenient for them to retire. To the tenth legion, however, he assigned the custody of Jerusalem, not ordering them to their former quarters by the Euphrates. Recollecting the conduct of the twelfth legion, which under the command of Cestius had retreated before the Jews, he



banished them from Syria altogether—for they had before lain at Raphanææ—and sent them into the country called Melitene, situated upon the Euphrates, on the confines of Armenia and Cappadocia. Two of the legions, the fifth and fifteenth, he thought proper to retain with himself until his arrival in Egypt. Having gone down with his army to Cæsarea on the sea-coast, he deposited in that city the mass of his spoils, and directed the prisoners to be detained there in custody; for the winter-season prevented his sailing to Italy.

CHAPTER II.

1. AT the time when Titus Cæsar was sitting down to besiege Jerusalem, Vespasian, embarking in a merchant-vessel, crossed over from Alexandria to Rhodes. From thence he sailed in triremes; and touching at all the towns in his course, and being everywhere cordially received, he passed over from Ionia into Greece, and thence from Corcyra to the Japygian promontory; whence he pursued his journey by land.

Titus, breaking up from the maritime Cæsarea, advanced to Cæsarea Philippi, as it is called, where he remained for a considerable time, exhibiting various shows. Many of the prisoners were here destroyed, some being thrown to wild beasts, whilst others in large bodies were compelled to encounter one another in combat. It was here that Titus heard of the capture of Simon, son of Gioras, which was effected in the following manner.

2. This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, had occupied the upper town; but when the Roman army had entered within the walls and was laying the whole city waste, accompanied by the most faithful of his friends, and some stone-cutters, with the iron tools required by them in their trade, and with provisions sufficient for many days, he let himself down with all his party into one of the secret caverns, and advanced through it as far as the ancient excavation permitted. Here being met by firm ground, they mined it, in hope of being able to proceed further, and, emerging in a place of safety, thus effect their escape. But the result of the operations proved the hope fallacious. The miners advanced slowly and with difficulty, and the provisions, though husbanded, were on the point of failing.

Thereupon Simon, thinking that he might pass a cheat upon the Romans by the effect of terror, dressed himself in white tunics, and, buttoning a purple cloak over them, rose up out of the earth at the very spot where the temple formerly stood. At first, indeed, the beholders were seized with amazement, and stood fixed to the spot; but afterwards approaching nearer, they demanded who he was. This Simon refused to tell them, but directed them to call the general; on which they ran quickly to Terentius Rufus, who had been left in command of the army. He accordingly came: and, after hearing from Simon the whole truth, he kept him in irons, and acquainted Cæsar with the particulars of his capture. Thus was Simon, in retribution for his cruelty to his fellow-citizens, over whom he had exercised bitter tyranny, delivered by God into the hands of his enemies, who most deeply hated him; not reduced under their power by force, but having voluntarily exposed himself to punishment;—an act for which he had himself barbarously slain many, falsely accusing them of deserting to the Romans. For iniquity escapes not the wrath of God, nor is justice feeble. She overtakes, though late, those who have transgressed against her, and inflicts upon the guilty a chastisement the more severe, because they flattered themselves that they had escaped it, when not immediately punished. This Simon learned when he fell into the enraged hands of the Romans. His ascent out of the ground, however, led at that period to the discovery in other caverns of a vast multitude of the other insurgents. On the return of Cæsar to the maritime Cæsarea, Simon was brought to him in chains, and he ordered him to be kept for the triumph which he was preparing to celebrate in Rome.

CHAPTER III.

1. TITUS, during his stay at Cæsarea, solemnized with great splendour his brother's birth-day; and in honour of him reserved for that occasion much of the punishment of the Jewish captives. For the number of those who were destroyed, in the contests with wild beasts, by the flames, or in combats with each other, exceeded two thousand five hundred. And yet to the Romans, though the prisoners perished in ten thousand forms, all this seemed too light a chastisement.

After this, Cæsar removed to Berytus, a city of Phœnicia and a Roman colony. Here he made a longer sojourn, displaying still greater magnificence in the celebration of his father's birth-day, both in the sumptuousness of the shows, and as regards the general ingenuity shown in the other branches of expenditure. The multitude of captives perished in the same manner as before.

2. It happened about this time that charges were preferred against the Jews who remained in Antioch, and that they were in danger of destruction; disturbances having been excited to their prejudice in that city, in consequence not only of the calumnies now brought forward against them, but also of some transactions which had taken place not long previously. Of these it is necessary that I should premise a few words in order that I may give an intelligible account of the subsequent occurrences.

3. The Jewish race, thickly interspersed among all the nations of the earth, particularly abounded in Syria, being mixed up with the people of that country by reason of its proximity to their own. Antioch, however, was their favourite place of resort, owing partly to the great extent of the town, but chiefly from their having been allowed by those who succeeded Antiochus on the throne to reside there undisturbed. For, though Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes sacked Jerusalem and despoiled the sanctuary, yet those who reigned after him restored to the Jews of Antioch all such offerings as were made of brass, to be laid up in their synagogue, and placed the people themselves, with respect to civil privileges, on an equal footing with the Greeks. And, as subsequent monarchs acted towards them in the same manner, their numbers greatly augmented, and their temple, from its furniture, and the sumptuousness of its offerings, assumed an air of magnificence. Very many of the Greeks, moreover, were from time to time brought over to their religious services; and these were also in some measure incorporated with them.

At the time when the war had been proclaimed, and Vespasian had recently landed in Syria, and when hatred of the Jews was everywhere at its height, one Antiochus, a man of their own nation, and very much respected on account of his father—who was chief magistrate of the Jews in Antioch—came forward in the theatre during an assembly of the people, and laid information against his own father and the other Jews; charging them with having formed a design to burn to the ground, in one night, the whole of the city: and he delivered up some foreign Jews, as accomplices in the plot. On hearing this, the people, unable to repress their indignation, demanded that those delivered up to them should be immediately

committed to the flames; and they were all forthwith burned to death in the theatre. They then rushed upon the Jewish population, conceiving that, by taking immediate vengeance on them, they should save their city. Antiochus, meanwhile, inflamed their resentment still further; for thinking to furnish proof of his conversion and of his hatred of the Jewish usages, by sacrificing according to the Greek mode, he also suggested that the others should be compelled to do the same, as the conspirators would thus at once be detected by their unwillingness. The people of Antioch having employed this test, a few submitted—the recusants were massacred.

Antiochus, having received a body of troops from the Roman governor, larded it with severity over his Jewish fellow-citizens, not permitting them to repose on the seventh day, but compelling them to do everything the same as on the others; and so rigidly did he exact obedience, that not only at Antioch was the day of weekly rest abrogated, but, the evil beginning from thence, the example was for a short time followed by the other cities also.

4. Such being the misfortunes which had at that period befallen the Jews in Antioch, a second calamity overtook them, on the narrative of which we were about to enter, when our attention was called to these occurrences. For it happening that the market-square was burned down, together with the houses of the magistrates, the record-office, and the court-houses, and the flames having with difficulty been prevented from spreading with destructive violence over the whole city, Antiochus charged the Jews with the deed. The inhabitants, even had they not been already incensed against them, might most easily, amid the consternation which the accident had occasioned, have been influenced by this calumny:—much more were they now inclined, from the transactions already detailed, to believe the imputation, and to imagine that they had all but seen them setting fire to the town. Accordingly, like men actuated by frenzy, they all rushed upon the accused with the most infuriated violence. Nor was it without difficulty that one Cneus Collega, the lieutenant, succeeded in restraining their fury, requesting permission to lay the matter before Cæsar. For it so happened that Cæsennius Pætus, the president of Syria, who had already been sent from Rome by Vespasian, had not yet arrived.

The affair having been carefully investigated by Collega, the truth was discovered. Not one of the Jews criminated by Antiochus was so much as implicated; the act being wholly attributable to some miscreants loaded with debts, who fancied, could they burn the market-place and the public records, that they would enjoy a release

from all demands. Thus the Jews, with these charges still hanging over them, were anxiously awaiting the issue, harassed with painful apprehensions.

CHAPTER IV.

1. MEANWHILE, Titus Cæsar, having received intelligence of the enthusiastic manner in which all the cities throughout Italy had greeted his father's approach, and that Rome in particular had received him with great cordiality and splendour, most happily relieved from further solicitude on his account, gave loose to emotions of joy and satisfaction. For even while still at a distance, the Italians without exception testified their respect for Vespasian in a manner as warm as if he were already come, deeming the expectation of him his actual arrival, so ardent were their wishes, and so void of all constraint was the affection they bore him. To the senate, who remembered the calamities they had endured in the changes of their princes, it was desirable once more to receive an emperor adorned with the gravity of age, and with consummate skill in military affairs; and whose exaltation they felt assured would tend only to the safety of his subjects: while the people, exhausted as they had been by intestine broils, still more ardently longed for his arrival; conceiving that not till then would there be an assured termination of their miseries, and confident that security and prosperity would then return. More especially, however, did the soldiery look towards him; for they knew best the magnitude of the wars which he had brought to a successful close: and, having had proof of the inexperience and cowardice of other princes, they longed for their own rescue from such deep disgrace, and prayed that he, who could alone both ensure their safety and add lustre to their arms, might be granted them.

With such universal esteem was he regarded, that those of higher rank, impatient of expecting him, hastened to a great distance from Rome to meet him. Nor, indeed, could any, even of the other citizens, endure the delay of his arrival; they all poured forth in such crowds—it seeming to all more expeditious and easy to go out than to remain—that the very city then first beheld with satisfaction a solitude within its walls. For those who went out exceeded those who remained. But by the time that his approach was announced, and while those who had advanced to meet him were expatiating on the affability of his address to every one, the rest of the citizens, one

and all, with wives and children, were already waiting at the roadsides to receive him ; and from those whom he passed in his progress, their own delight at the spectacle, and the blandness of his countenance, drew forth various expressions of applause, while they hailed him as the benefactor and saviour, and alone worthy Emperor of Rome.

The whole city was like a temple, filled as it was with garlands and incense. Having reached the palace, though with difficulty, owing to the crowds that pressed around him, he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to the household-gods for his arrival. The multitudes then betook themselves to feasting, enjoying the festivities by tribes and families and neighbourhoods, and with libations prayed to God, that Vespasian might long sway the Roman sceptre himself, and that to his sons, and their descendants in successive generations, the empire might be preserved undisputed. The city of the Romans, after this cordial reception of Vespasian, rapidly advanced to a high degree of prosperity.

2. Previous to this period, while Vespasian was at Alexandria, and Titus occupied with the siege of Jerusalem, a large portion of the Germans were incited to revolt ; and, as the neighbouring Gauls also coincided in their views, this led them to entertain, in conjunction with them, confident expectations of rescuing themselves from the Roman yoke. The Germans themselves were induced to attempt this insurrection and engage in the war, in the first place, by their natural disposition, which is devoid of all prudential consideration, and prone to rush into danger with never so little hope of success ; next, by hatred to their conquerors, as they know that the Romans are the only people that have ever reduced their race to servitude. But what most of all inspired them with confidence, was the present favourable juncture. For, seeing the Roman empire involved in intestine distractions by the continual change of its masters, and having heard that every quarter of the world, where their sway prevailed, was in a state of suspense and fluctuation, they considered that a most auspicious opportunity was now presented to themselves by the disastrous and divided condition of the enemy.

Into this scheme they were led, and in these anticipations buoyed up, by one Classicus, and Vitellius, leading men among them, who, it was well known, had long meditated such an attempt, and who now, emboldened by the juncture, openly declared their sentiments, and were about to test the courage of the populace, who were heartily inclined to the enterprise. A large section of the Germans had, accordingly, already agreed to the revolt, and it seemed probable that

the remainder would come into their views, when Vespasian, as if by the guidance of Providence, despatched letters to Petilius Cerealius, who had formerly commanded in Germany, conferring on him the consular dignity, and directing him to set out to assume the command in Britain. Setting out accordingly for the place of his destination, and having received intelligence by the way of the revolt of the Germans, he fell upon them, when they had already formed a junction of their forces; and, having in a pitched battle made great havoc of them, he checked their folly, and compelled them to be more prudent.

But, even had not Cerealius ventured without delay into that quarter, they would ere long have been chastised. For no sooner had tidings of their defection reached Rome, than Domitian Cæsar, informed of the occurrence, hesitated not, as another might have done at his age—for he was still a mere stripling—to undertake an affair of such magnitude. Endowed by nature with the heroism of his father, and possessed of experience beyond his years, he instantly advanced against the barbarians. Their hearts failing at the rumour of his approach, they surrendered in terror, finding it to their advantage to be again reduced under the same yoke, before any disaster befel them. Domitian, having settled the affairs of Gaul on a proper footing, so as to prevent their being again at any subsequent period easily thrown into disorder, retraced his steps to Rome, covered with honour, and an object of universal regard, on account of achievements surpassing his age, and which might have done honour to his father.

3. Simultaneous with the above-mentioned revolt of the Germans, was a daring attempt of the Scythians against the Romans. Those of the Scythians who are called Sarmatians, an extremely numerous tribe, stealthily crossing the Ister into Mœsia, fell upon the Romans with great violence, the more difficult to be resisted as the attack was altogether unexpected. Many of the Romans stationed in that quarter they slew, and among them the consular legate, Fonteius Agrippa, who had advanced to meet them, and who perished fighting gallantly. They then overran the whole of the adjacent territory, plundering and pillaging whatever came in their way.

Vespasian, hearing of what had taken place, and of the devastation of Mœsia, sent Rubrius Gallus to chastise the Sarmatians. Many of them met their death in the conflicts which ensued, and the survivors fled in terror to their own country. The general, having brought this war to a conclusion, took measures also for future safety; for, by occupying the country with more numerous and stronger garrisons, he rendered the passage of the river totally impracticable to the barbarians. Thus speedily was the war in Mœsia terminated.

CHAPTER V.

1. **TITUS CÆSAR**, as we have before stated, stayed some time at Berytus. Breaking up from thence, in the various cities of Syria through which he passed, he exhibited sumptuous shows, making the Jewish captives serve to display their own ruin. During his journey he beheld a river, the nature of which merits notice. It holds its course between Arcæa, a town in Agrippa's kingdom, and Raphanæa; and possesses a remarkable peculiarity. When it flows, it is copious, and far from tardy in its current. Then all at once its springs fail; and during the space of six days, it presents a dry channel to the view. Again, as if no change had occurred, it gives out its waters on the seventh day the same as before. And it has always been observed to maintain this order accurately; whence it has been called the Sabbathical river, being so named from the sacred seventh day of the Jews.

2. The people of Antioch, when they heard that Titus was at hand, could not through joy endure to remain within their walls, but hastened to meet him, advancing to the distance of more than thirty furlongs; not men only, but also crowds of women and children, pouring forth from the city. And when they saw him approaching, ranging themselves on both sides of the road, they held out their hands in congratulation, and, hailing him with all kinds of auspicious prayers, returned with him. But, with all these acclamations, they ceased not to importune him to drive the Jews from the town. Titus, however, unmoved by these entreaties, listened in silence to what was said. The Jews, meanwhile, uncertain as to his views and intentions, were kept in a state of deep and painful alarm. For Titus, without delaying at Antioch, immediately pursued his route to Zeugma, a town on the Euphrates; where he was waited on by an embassy from Vologeses, king of the Parthians, and presented with a crown of gold on his conquest of the Jews. Having accepted this, and entertained the royal messengers at a banquet, he retraced his steps from thence to Antioch.

The council and people of this city having earnestly entreated him to visit their theatre, where the whole population had assembled to receive him, he courteously complied. On their pressing him again very urgently, and frequently importuning him, to expel the Jews from the city, he appositely replied, saying; "Nay, but their own country, to which in such case they would have to be banished, is



THE OLD FAWCETT

destroyed, and no place would any longer admit them." Failing in this request, they preferred a second, soliciting him to remove the brazen tablets on which were inscribed the privileges of the Jews. This Titus also refused, and, leaving to the Jews of Antioch every thing they had previously enjoyed in that country, set out for Egypt.

In the course of his journey he arrived at Jerusalem; and, contrasting the mournful solitude he then surveyed with the former splendour of the city, and calling to mind the magnitude of its buildings, now in ruins, and their beauty in former days, he deplored its destruction; not exulting, as another would, that, great and goodly as it was, it had fallen beneath his arms, but often execrating the guilty authors of the revolt, who had drawn down this chastisement upon the city;—thus evincing how foreign it was from his wishes, through the calamities of the sufferers to make a display of his own valour. Of the vast wealth of the town no small portion still continued to be found among the ruins. Much of it was dug up by the Romans; but the greater part was brought to light through the information of the captives, that is to say, gold and silver, and other articles of the greatest value, which the owners had stored underground against the doubtful fortunes of war.

3. Titus now proceeded on his intended journey to Egypt; and, crossing the desert with all possible expedition, reached Alexandria. Having determined to sail for Italy, he directed the two legions which had accompanied him to repair respectively to their former stations; the fifth into Moesia, the fifteenth into Pannonia. The leaders, Simon and John, with the other captives, seven hundred in number, whom he had selected as remarkable for their stature and the beauty of their persons, he ordered to be conveyed immediately into Italy, wishing to produce them at the triumph.

Titus, who had as favourable a voyage as he could have desired, was received and welcomed at Rome in the same manner as his father had been. But what reflected the highest honour on Titus, was the circumstance of his father's going out in person to meet and receive him; and the crowd of citizens were filled with transport at beholding the three princes themselves, now together. Not many days had elapsed when they determined that their successes should be celebrated by one common triumph, though the senate had decreed a separate one to each. The day having been previously notified on which the pageant of their victories was to be celebrated, not an individual of the countless multitude in the city remained at home. All issued forth; and they occupied every spot, wherever it was

possible even merely to stand, leaving only the space necessary for those who were to be the objects of attraction to pass onward.

4. Day had not yet dawned, when the whole of the military marched out in companies and divisions, under their officers, and drew up around the gates, not at the upper palace, but near the temple of Isis; for there the emperors reposed that night. As morning broke, Vespasian and Titus came forth, crowned with laurel and clothed with ancestral purple robes, and proceeded to the Octavian walks; for there the senate and the chief magistrates, with those of equestrian rank, awaited their approach. A tribunal had been erected in front of the colonnades. This they ascended, and seated themselves on ivory chairs placed there for the purpose. Instantly a shout of joyful acclaim burst from the troops, all bearing many testimonies to their valour. The princes were unarmed, dressed in silk, and crowned with laurel. Vespasian, having acknowledged their acclamations, which they wished still to continue, made the signal for silence. Deep and universal stillness prevailing, he rose, and, covering with his cloak the greater part of his head, offered up the usual prayers, Titus praying also in like manner. The prayers concluded, Vespasian having addressed the assemblage in general in a short speech, dismissed the soldiers to the customary repast provided for them by the emperors. He then retired himself to the gate which, in consequence of the triumphal processions always passing through it, has received its appellation from them. Here they first took some refreshment, and then, having clothed themselves in the triumphal robes and sacrificed to the gods whose statues stood by the gate, they commanded the pageant to move forward, driving through the theatres, that the assembled crowds might have a better view.

5. It is impossible for language to convey any adequate idea of the multitude of those spectacles, and their magnificence in every thing that one can conceive, whether as regards works of art, diversity of riches, or natural rarities. For, almost all the acquisitions that have been made one after another by those who have ever at any time enjoyed the favours of fortune—the various productions, admirable and sumptuous, of different nations—all these the greatness of the Roman empire exhibited on that day collected together. Silver and gold and ivory in profusion, and wrought in multitudinous forms, might be seen, not as if carried in procession, but flowing, so to speak, like a river.

Here were tapestries borne along, some of the rarest purple, some embroidered by Babylonian art into accurate representations of life: transparent gems, moreover, some set in crowns of gold, others in



TIBIUS

other fashions ; and of these so vast was the display, that we thence learned how erroneously we had supposed any of them to be rare. Borne in the procession, likewise, were images of their gods, remarkable for size, and of singularly elaborate workmanship ; and of these none, but what was of costly materials. Many species of animals, also, were led along, all wearing appropriate decorations. In charge of the several species was a multitude of men adorned with purple garments, and dresses interwoven with gold ; while those men who were destined for the procession itself had about them choice and magnificent ornaments which struck the eye with astonishment. In the crowd of captives, moreover, none was to be seen unadorned : the beautiful variety of their dresses concealing from view any unsightliness arising from the wretched condition of their bodies. But nothing in the pageant excited so much wonder and admiration as the structure of the platforms. For such was their magnitude, as to cause alarm, and make men distrust the firmness of their support ; many of them rising to three and four stories ; and you were at once delighted and astonished by the magnificence of the fabric. Many of them were covered with tapestries interwoven with gold ; while gold and ivory ingeniously wrought were affixed round about them all. The war was likewise exhibited in numerous representations, divided into different sections, and affording an extremely vivid portraiture of its events.

Here was to be seen a happy country devastated ; there entire bodies of hostile armies slaughtered : some again in flight : others led into captivity : walls of extraordinary magnitude laid in ruins by engines : strong fortresses overpowered : the defences of populous cities completely mastered, and an army pouring within the walls : every spot deluged with blood ; and the hands of those incapable of resistance uplifted in supplication : fire cast into temples : houses overthrown, and their owners buried in the ruins ; and, after wide-spread desolation and woe, rivers flowing, not over a cultivated country, nor supplying water to man and beast, but running through a land on every side still wrapt in flames. For to endure such calamities had the Jews given themselves up to the war. The art, moreover, and exquisite workmanship of the designs, to those unacquainted with the events, exhibited them as if actually occurring before their eyes.

On each of these platforms was placed the governor of one of the captured cities, in the situation in which he was taken. A number of ships also followed. The spoils in general were borne in confused heaps ; but conspicuous above all were the vessels taken in the temple of Jerusalem. A golden table, many talents in weight, and a candlestick, made in like manner of gold, but constructed in a different

fashion from what is in ordinary use among us. For in the centre, affixed to a pedestal, rose a pillar, from which extended slender branches, resembling in their arrangement the figure of a trident; and to the top of each of these was attached a brazen lamp. These lamps were seven, indicating the honour paid to that number among the Jews. After these was borne the law of the Jews—last of the spoils. These were succeeded by a numerous party carrying images of victory, all made of ivory and gold. Next came Vespasian in a chariot, followed by Titus; Domitian riding beside them sumptuously apparelled, and mounted on a charger deservedly admired.

6. The triumphal procession terminated at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on arriving at which it stopped; for it was an ancient usage there to remain, until the death of the general of the enemy was announced. This was Simon, son of Gioras, who had been led in the pageant among the captives. Bound round with a halter, and scourged meanwhile by those who led him, he was dragged to that place, overlooking the forum, where the Roman law required that malefactors condemned to death should be executed. When the tidings arrived that Simon was no more, and the assemblage had responded with a shout of joy, they commenced the sacrifices; which having been offered with the customary prayers, they returned to the palace.

Some the emperors themselves entertained at a feast: all the rest had handsome preparations made for banquets at home. For the city of the Romans kept festival that day in celebration of the victory obtained in the campaign against her enemies, of the termination of her civil dissensions, and of the dawning of her hopes of prosperity.

7. The triumphs being concluded, and the empire of the Romans settled on the most secure basis, Vespasian determined to erect a temple to Peace. This he very speedily completed, and in a style exceeding all human conception. For, besides having at his disposal the extraordinary resources with which his wealth supplied him, he also embellished the edifice with the works of painting and statuary achieved in past times. For in that shrine were accumulated and stored up all those objects, for the sight of which men had before wandered over the whole world, anxiously desiring to see them, while they lay in different countries. Here he laid up also the golden vessels from the temple of the Jews, on which he prided himself. Their law, however, and the purple veils of the sanctuary, he ordered to be deposited and kept in the palace.

CHAPTER VI.

1. LUCILIUS BASSUS, having been despatched to Judæa as legate, and having received the army from Cerealius Vitellianus, gained over the fortress of Herodium, together with the troops in garrison there. This done, he drew together the whole of the military—who formed a considerable force, but were scattered about in detached parties—and among them the tenth legion, and resolved on an expedition against Machærus. This fortress it was absolutely necessary to demolish, lest its strength should induce many to revolt. For its natural defences were peculiarly calculated to inspire its occupants with a high confidence of security, and to retard and alarm an assailant. For the very site that is fortified is a rocky eminence, which rises to so great a height, that on that account alone it would be difficult to reduce it; while it is so contrived by the hand of nature as to be quite inaccessible; for it is trenched about on all sides with ravines of depth immeasurable to the eye, which cannot easily be crossed, and which it is utterly impracticable to mound up. For the valley which intercepts it on the west extends sixty furlongs, making the lake Asphaltitis its limit; and it is at a part on this side that Machærus itself attains its greatest elevation. The ravines, again, on the north and south, though inferior in magnitude to that just mentioned, are equally impracticable to an attacking army. The ravine on the east is found to be not less than a hundred cubits in depth, and is terminated by a mountain which lies over against Machærus.

2. Remarking these natural advantages of the spot, Alexander, king of the Jews, first erected a fortress there, which was subsequently demolished by Gabinius in his war with Aristobulus. But when Herod was king, deeming it peculiarly deserving of attention, and of the strongest fortification, more particularly from its proximity to Arabia, with regard to which it was conveniently situated, and of which it commanded a prospect, he enclosed in consequence a large space of ground with ramparts and towers, and built there a city, with an ascent leading up from it to the very summit of the hill. On the top of this, moreover, and round the very brow of it, he raised a wall, and at the angles erected towers a hundred and sixty cubits high. In the centre of the inclosure he constructed a palace,

magnificent both from the size and beauty of its apartments. He prepared, moreover, a number of cisterns in the most convenient situations to receive the rain, and provide an abundant supply; as if vying with nature, and seeking by artificial munitions to surpass the strength and security with which she had invested it. For he still further deposited there a large quantity of missiles and engines, and carefully attended to the preparation of whatever might enable its inmates to set at defiance the most protracted siege.

3. In the palace grew a plant of rue, of astonishing size, equalling in height and thickness the largest fig-tree. There was a tradition that it had continued from the times of Herod; and it would probably have remained for a very long period, had it not been cut down by the Jews who took possession of the place. In the ravine which encompassed the town on the north, there is a spot called Baaras, which produces a root of the same name. In colour it resembles flame, and towards evening emits a bright light. Those who approach and wish to pluck it find it no easy matter to lay hands upon it, as it recedes from the grasp, and is only rendered stationary by pouring upon it some peculiar animal secretions. And even then to touch it is certain death, unless the root itself is carried suspended from the hand. It is also taken in another manner without danger, as follows. They dig round it on all sides, so as to leave but a very small portion of the root covered. They then tie a dog to it; and he, in his efforts to follow the person who bound him to it, easily draws it up; but the dog instantly dies, as if delivered up in the stead of him who would have removed the plant. For after this, no one need fear to handle it. It is eagerly sought for, though the search is attended with such dangers, on account of a single virtue. For what are called demons—that is, the spirits of wicked men, which enter into the living, and destroy them, unless aid be obtained—are quickly expelled by this root, if merely applied to the diseased.

In this place, moreover, flow fountains of warm water, differing much in taste from each other, some of them being bitter, others not at all deficient in sweetness. Many springs of cold water also gush out near each other, and these not confined to the lower situations; but, what is still more remarkable, at a short distance is seen a cave, with a basin of no great depth, and overhung by a projecting rock. Above this rock rise, as it were, two breasts, at a short interval from each other, one of which yields extremely cold water, the other extremely hot. These, when mixed, make a highly agreeable bath, medicinal in its properties, but particularly useful in nervous affections. In this spot, also, are mines of sulphur and alum.

4. Bassus, after reconnoitering the place at every point, determined to make his approaches by filling up the ravine towards the east. He accordingly commenced his operations, labouring to complete his mounds with all expedition, and by means of them to lighten the toils of the siege. The Jews who were shut up within, separating themselves from the strangers, whom they regarded as merely a useless crowd, compelled them to remain in the lower part of the town, and be the first to meet the dangers. They themselves, meanwhile, seized and kept possession of the upper citadel, not less on account of the strength of its defences, than with a view to their own safety, conceiving that they could obtain pardon, should they deliver up the fortress to the Romans. But they wished first to put to the proof their hopes of escaping a blockade.

They, in consequence, made spirited sallies from day to day; and engaging hand to hand with those who fell in their way, though many lost their lives, they nevertheless slew great numbers of the Romans. It was invariably, however, the opportunity seized upon, which mainly decided the victory on either side; in favour of the Jews, if they fell upon the Romans when more off their guard than usual;—of those on the mounds, if, anticipating their sallies, they received them protected by their armour. But not on these conflicts was the termination of the siege destined to depend. An accidental and unexpected occurrence imposed on the Jews the necessity of surrendering the fortress.

There was among the besieged a youth bold to enterprise, and active to execute, by name Eleazar. He had greatly distinguished himself in the sallies, stimulating many to go out and impede the progress of the mounds, and in the conflicts making much and fearful havoc among the Romans; while, to those who ventured to sally forth with him, he rendered the attack easy, and, himself the last to withdraw, provided them with an unendangered retreat. Now, on one occasion it so happened, that, after the conclusion of the engagement, and when both parties had retired, he, as despising the enemy, and not thinking that any of them would then resume the contest, remained outside the gates, conversing with those upon the wall, his attention being wholly engrossed by them. One Rufus, belonging to the Roman camp, by birth an Egyptian, saw the opportunity, and, running suddenly upon him, when no one could have expected it, lifted him up, armed as he was, while the spectators on the wall were stupefied by astonishment, and succeeded in transferring him to the Roman camp.

The general having ordered him to be stripped, and taken to a spot

most exposed to the view of those who were looking on from the city, and there scourged, the Jews were deeply affected by his misfortune, and the whole town bewailed him with lamentations exceeding what the calamity of a single individual might call forth. Perceiving this, Bassus proceeded to practise a stratagem against the enemy, which he hoped would so heighten their distress, as to compel them to purchase the safety of the man by a surrender of the fortress. And in this hope he was not disappointed. He commanded a cross to be erected, as if for the purpose of instantly suspending Eleazar. On observing this, those who were in the fortress were seized with deeper anguish, and bewailed him with piercing shrieks, crying out that it was an insupportable calamity. Thereupon, Eleazar besought them not to allow him to undergo, before their eyes, so pitiable a death ; but to consult their own safety by yielding to the strength and fortune of the Romans, now that all were subdued.

His appeals completely unmanned them, and as many within also pleaded for him—for he was of a high and very numerous family—they yielded to a compassion beyond their nature, and sent a deputation without delay to the Romans to treat of a surrender of the fortress, requiring that they might be allowed to withdraw in safety, and take with them Eleazar. The Romans and their general having acceded to these conditions, the multitude in the lower town, on hearing of the separate compact which the Jews had made, determined on their part to make off secretly during the night. But as soon as the gates were thrown open, those who had come to terms with Bassus, informed him of the fact ; whether grudging them their safety, or through fear lest they should themselves be charged as accessories to their flight. The most resolute of the fugitives succeeded in cutting their way through, and escaped. Of those taken in the town, the men, to the number of one thousand seven hundred, were slaughtered : the women and children were enslaved. Bassus, thinking himself bound to observe his agreement with those who surrendered the fortress, allowed them to depart, and restored Eleazar.

5. Having settled affairs in this quarter, Bassus proceeded with his troops by forced marches to the forest of Jarden, as it is called, having been informed that many of those who had formerly fled from Jerusalem and Machærus, during the sieges of those places, had there assembled. On reaching the spot, and finding the intelligence correct, he commenced by surrounding the entire place with his cavalry, to prevent the escape of any of the Jews who might attempt to cut their way through ; and directed the infantry to fell the trees, among which the fugitives had taken shelter. The Jews were in

consequence reduced to the necessity of making some bold attempt, in the hope that by a desperate effort they might possibly escape. Accordingly, forming themselves into a mass, they rushed forward with a shout, and fell upon the troops that hemmed them in. These received them gallantly; and thus, utter despair animating the one side, and emulation the other, the conflict was long maintained. The issue, however, was not alike to the respective combatants; the Romans having lost in all twelve, and a few wounded; while of the Jews from that engagement not one escaped; all, to the number of not less than three thousand, having perished. Among the slain was their general, Judas, the son of Ari, of whom we have before spoken as the leader of a company at the siege of Jerusalem, where he effected his escape by withdrawing secretly into some of the subterraneous passages.

6. About the same time Cæsar wrote to Bassus, and Liberius Maximus, the procurator, directing them to sell the whole of the Jewish territory; for he did not colonize a single city there, reserving the country as his private property. To eight hundred alone, who were discharged from further service in the army, he assigned for their habitation a place called Ammaus, distant sixty furlongs from Jerusalem. On the Jews, wherever they might be, he imposed a tribute of two drachms, to be paid by each man every year into the Capitol, as they formerly paid into the temple at Jerusalem. Such was at this date the posture of affairs in Judæa.

CHAPTER VII.

1. WHILE Vespasian was now holding for the fourth year the reins of empire, Antiochus, king of Commagene, became involved in severe calamities, with all his family. The occasion was as follows. Cæsennius Pætus, then appointed president of Syria, sent letters to Cæsar, but whether believing what he said, or from enmity to Antiochus, was never fully ascertained, stating that "Antiochus and his son Epiphanes had determined to throw off their allegiance to the Romans, having formed an alliance with the king of the Parthians; and that he ought, therefore, to anticipate their movements, lest they should be first in the field, and involve the whole Roman empire in war."

Such intelligence, thus conveyed to him, Caesar was not the man to overlook, more particularly as the proximity of these princes to one another rendered the matter deserving of greater attention. For Samosata, the chief city of Commagene, lying on the Euphrates, would afford the Parthians, were such a design in contemplation, an easy passage and a secure retreat. Accordingly, Pætus, gaining credit for his story, and receiving authority to do what he thought expedient, made no delay; but, while Antiochus and his friends were expecting nothing of the kind, suddenly invaded Commagene; the sixth legion, some cohorts, and a few troops of cavalry, constituting his force.

In this expedition he was also supported by two sovereign princes, Aristobulus, who ruled in Chalcidice, as it is styled, and Sohemus, king of Emesa, so called. Their inroad met with no opposition: for throughout the country none wished to raise a hand against them. Antiochus, on hearing these unexpected tidings, unable even to think of a war with the Romans, determined to leave his entire kingdom just in the state in which it was, and to withdraw privately with his wife and children, hoping that he might thus evince to the Romans his innocence of the charge brought against him. And proceeding to a plain at the distance of a hundred and twenty furlongs from his capital, he there pitched his tents.

2. Pætus despatched a body of troops to seize on Samosata: and through them he retained possession of the town, while he hastened with the remainder of his army to oppose Antiochus in person. Embarrassing as was his situation, however, the king could not be induced to take any hostile step against the Romans, but, lamenting his misfortune, was content to submit to whatever it might be his lot to endure. His sons, notwithstanding, being in the flower of their age, skilled in war, and excelling in physical strength, could not easily brook his fall without a struggle. Epiphanes and Callinicus, accordingly, tried their strength. A fierce conflict ensued, which continued during the whole day; the young princes giving proofs of distinguished valour; and, when night parted the combatants, they were found to have sustained no loss. But, though such had been the issue of the conflict, still Antiochus could not be induced to remain; accompanied by his wife and daughters he fled into Cilicia:—a step which broke down the spirits of his troops. For, considering that he had abandoned his kingdom in despair, they revolted, and went over to the Romans; and despondency was visible in every countenance.

It became necessary, in consequence, for Epiphanes and his friends to provide for their safety before they should be entirely deserted

by their confederates. Ten horsemen were all that crossed the Euphrates with him. Thence they proceeded without molestation to Vologeses, king of Parthia; by whom they were not treated with disdain, as fugitives, but with every mark of respect, as if still enjoying their ancient prosperity.

3. Antiochus, on coming to Tarsus of Cilicia, was taken into custody by a centurion despatched for that purpose by Pætus, who sent his prisoner in irons to Rome. Vespasian, however, could not endure to have the king thus brought to him, thinking it becoming rather to respect ancient friendship, than, under pretext of the war, to cherish implacable resentment. He therefore gave orders that his chains should be struck off, while he was still upon the road, and countermanding at the same time his journey to Rome, directed him to remain for the present at Lacedæmon. He gave him, moreover, ample supplies of money, that he might not only enjoy affluence, but live in royal state. On hearing of this, Epiphanes and his adherents—who had hitherto felt the greatest apprehensions on his father's account—were relieved from their serious and painful anxiety. They had a hope, moreover, that Cæsar, through the representations of Vologeses, who had written to him on the subject, would be reconciled to them; for, however well off they might be, they could not endure to live beyond the Roman empire. Cæsar having humanely granted them safe conduct, they repaired to Rome, where they were soon joined by their father from Lacedæmon; and there they continued to reside, treated with all distinction.

4. The nation of the Alans—whom, I think, we have elsewhere stated to be Scythians inhabiting the banks of the river Tanais, and the lake Mæotis—designing at this juncture to penetrate into Media and the parts beyond it, for plunder, addressed themselves to the king of the Hyrcanians, who was master of the pass which king Alexander had closed with iron gates. Being granted ingress by him, they fell in great numbers upon the Medes, who entertained no suspicions, and pillaged a populous country, abounding in flocks and herds, no one venturing to oppose them. For Pacorus, the sovereign of that country, fled in terror to his fastnesses; and, having abandoned all besides, with difficulty recovered from them his wife and concubines, who had fallen into their hands, by a ransom of a hundred talents. Prosecuting, therefore, the work of rapine unresisted and quite at their leisure, they proceeded as far as the confines of Armenia, laying every thing waste. Teridates, who reigned there, meeting them, and giving them battle, was on the point of being made prisoner in the engagement; a noose having been thrown over him by one at a

distance, who would have dragged him away, had he not instantly cut the cord with his sword and effected his escape. The invaders, only rendered the more fierce by this opposition, desolated the country; and, carrying off a vast multitude of men, with much booty besides, from both kingdoms, returned once more to their own homes.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. **BASSUS**, who had died in Judæa, was succeeded in his government by **Flavius Silva**; who, seeing the whole country reduced to subjection, with the exception of one fortress which still stood out, drew all his forces together from their quarters, and marched against it. The fortress bore the name of **Masada**; and **Eleazar**, a man of influence among the **Sikars**, who had seized on it, there held command. He was a descendant of **Judas**, who, when **Quirinus** was despatched as censor into Judæa, prevailed on numbers of the Jews, as we have before stated, not to enroll themselves. For it was at that juncture that the **Sikars** combined against those who were willing to obey the Romans, treating them in every way as enemies, plundering their property, driving off their cattle, and setting fire to their habitations: for those, they said, who so ignobly threw away the freedom which had cost the Jews so many struggles, and had acknowledged their preference for the Roman yoke, in nowise differed from aliens. This was, however, only a pretext, and was put forward by them as a cloak for their cruelty and avarice; a fact made evident by their proceedings. For the people did join with them in the revolt, and took part in the war against the Romans; yet, notwithstanding this, their conduct towards them became more atrocious than ever. And when, again, they were convicted of falsehood in this pretext, they treated still worse those who, in self-justification, upbraided them with their villany. For that period had, somehow, become so prolific in iniquity of every description, amongst the Jews, that no work of evil was left unperpetrated; nor, were any one to aim by his ingenuity to devise it, could he discover any thing more strange: so universal was the contagion, both in public and private, and such the emulation to surpass each other in acts of impiety towards God, and of injustice towards their neighbours; the powerful oppressing the

multitude, and the multitude hastening to destroy the powerful. These desired to tyrannize, those forcibly to seize and plunder the goods of the opulent.

The Sikars set the first example of this flagitiousness and cruelty to their kindred: they left no language unemployed that might insult, no deed un essayed for the destruction of those against whom they conspired. But, wicked as they were, John showed that even they were more moderate than himself. For, not only did he put to death all who suggested just and salutary measures, treating such of the citizens especially as his worst enemies; but he also in his public capacity filled his country with a thousand evils, such as might be expected from a man who had already dared even to be impious towards God. For he spread his table with unlawful meats, and discarded the rule of purity sanctioned by our forefathers; so that it can no longer excite surprise, that he who could act towards God with impiety so insane, should not have observed towards men the offices of gentleness and humanity.

And then, again, what evil did not Simon, son of Gioras, perpetrate? Or what outrage did he abstain from, towards the very freemen who had invested him with arbitrary power? What ties of friendship or of kindred rendered them not more ferocious in their daily murders? For injury to strangers they regarded as ignoble wickedness; but deemed it a splendid piece of bravado to show cruelty towards their nearest relations. Yet the frenzy of the Idumæans outvied even their desperate fury. For those most execrable monsters, after having, in order to blot out every vestige of religious worship, butchered the chief-priests, proceeded to uproot whatever remnant there still was of our civil polity, and introduced into every department the utmost licentiousness. In this excelled the horde of the so-called Zealots, who, by their deeds, proved their appellation true. For every deed of evil they zealously emulated, leaving nothing unrivalled which has been handed down by tradition as having been formerly perpetrated; though they applied this designation to themselves as if zealous in the cause of virtue; either, from their savage nature, mocking those injured, or as deeming the greatest evils good. Accordingly, they met, each, a merited end; God awarding due punishment to them all. For all the inflictions that the nature of man is capable of enduring fell on them, even to the latest moment of that life, which they sustained in the agonies of complicated tortures to its close. And yet it may be said that they suffered less than they perpetrated; for no punishment could reach the measure of their crimes. But those who perished through their cruelty the present is not the proper

season to deplore as they deserve. I shall, therefore, return to that part of the narrative where I digressed.

2. Against Eleazar and the Sikars, who with him held possession of Masada, the Roman general advanced at the head of his forces; and, having quickly made himself master of the whole of the district, he placed garrisons in the most eligible quarters. That none of the besieged might find it easy to effect their escape, he threw up a wall round the entire circuit of the fortress, and distributed his sentinels. He encamped himself on a spot which he selected as most advantageous for the operations, at that point where the rocks of the fortress adjoined the neighbouring mountain; though, otherwise, inconvenient for an adequate supply of necessaries. For, not only had provisions to be conveyed from a distance, and with distressing labour to the Jews to whom this duty was assigned; but water also had to be brought to the camp, there being no fountain at hand. These preparatory arrangements being completed, Silva entered on the siege, which demanded much skill and severe exertion, owing to the strength of the fortress, the nature of which I shall now describe.

3. A rock, not inconsiderable in circumference, and lofty throughout its entire length, is encompassed on every side by ravines of such vast depth that they are unfathomable by the eye; precipitous withal, and inaccessible to the foot of every living creature, except in two places, where the rock admits a not easy ascent. Of these passages, the one leads from the lake Asphaltitis and fronts the sun-rising: the other, by which the approach is less difficult, is from the west. The former is called the snake, from its fancied resemblance to that reptile in its narrowness and continual involutions. For its line is broken at the projections of the precipices; and, returning frequently into itself, and gradually lengthening out again, it advances but slowly. In going through it the feet must alternately be firmly fixed. Destruction, withal, is imminent; for on either side yawn deep chasms, so terrific as to appal the most undaunted spirit. When you have by this ascended thirty furlongs, you reach the summit, which, instead of contracting to a point, expands into a plain.

On this the high-priest Jonathan first erected a fortress, to which he gave the name of Masada. Subsequently, the arrangement of the place occupied the anxious attention of king Herod, who surrounded the entire summit with a wall, seven furlongs in length, built of white stone, and twelve cubits in height, by eight in breadth; on which stood seven and thirty towers fifty cubits in altitude. From these were communications with apartments constructed around the whole interior of the wall. For the king reserved the top of the hill for culti-



W. TIPPING.

MASADA.

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vation, the soil being rich, and softer than any plain; in order that, should there be at any time scarcity of provision outside, those who had committed their safety to the fortress might not suffer from it. Moreover, he built a palace there, at the western ascent, under the ramparts of the citadel, and inclining to the north. The wall of this edifice was strong and of great height, with four towers of sixty cubits at the angles. The fitting up of the apartments, galleries, and baths, in the interior, was diversified and sumptuous: the buildings being supported throughout by pillars, each formed of a single block; and the walls and floors of the rooms being laid with variegated stones. To each of the dwelling-places, both on the summit and around the palace, as well as in front of the wall, he had cut in the rock a number of capacious cisterns, as reservoirs of water; thus securing a supply as ample as if derived from fountains. An excavated road, imperceptible to those outside, led from the palace to the very top of the hill. The open approaches, however, could not easily be used by an attacking army; for the eastern, as we have already observed, was impracticable from its nature, while that on the west was barred, at the narrowest part, by a huge tower, distant not less than a thousand cubits from the summit, and which it was neither possible to pass, nor easy to reduce. It had, moreover, been rendered difficult of access even to those who traversed it without cause for alarm. Thus had the fortress been defended against hostile attacks, both by nature and art.

4. The provisions laid up within might excite still greater admiration, both for their profusion and their durability. Much corn had been stored there, amply sufficient to last for many years, together with wine and oil in abundance. Pulse, also, in its different varieties, and dates, had been accumulated. All these Eleazar, when treachery made him and his Sikars masters of the fortress, found in perfect preservation and nowise inferior to those recently laid in; though, from the time of their being stored, to the capture by the Romans, almost a century had elapsed. Nay, the Romans also found what remained of the fruits undecayed. He would not err who should attribute this durability to the atmosphere, which, from the height of the citadel, was free from all terrene and impure admixture. There were, likewise, discovered here vast quantities of arms of various descriptions, which had been treasured up by the king, sufficient for ten thousand men; unwrought iron, also, with brass and lead: preparations evidently designed for important occasions.

For it is said that Herod provided this fortress as a refuge for himself, suspecting a twofold danger; the one from the Jewish people,

lest, deposing him, they should restore the line of their ancient kings : the greater and more serious from Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who made no secret of her intention, but frequently addressed herself to Antony, urging him to destroy Herod, and praying him to confer on her the throne of Judæa. And, far from having any expectation of his not gratifying her, one may rather feel surprise that Antony should never have obeyed her commands, miserably enslaved as he was by his passion for her. It was under the influence of such fears as these that Herod fortified Masada, to leave it to the Romans for the concluding work of their war with the Jews.

5. The Roman general, having now completed his barrier round the entire exterior of the fortress, as we have already related, and taken the strictest precautions lest any one should escape, commenced the siege. One spot alone he found adapted for the reception of mounds. In the rear of the tower which secured the pass leading from the west to the palace and the summit of the hill, was a projection of rock, which formed there a platform of considerable breadth, and withal remarkably prominent, but still three hundred cubits below the elevation of Masada. It was called—The White Cliff. Silva, having ascended and taken possession of this, ordered his troops to bring earth for the mound. Working zealously and with many hands, they raised a solid bank, to the height of two hundred cubits. This being, however, still deemed of insufficient stability and extent for sustaining the machines of escalade, there was built upon it, with great stones fitted to each other, a raised work fifty cubits broad and of equal altitude. The other machines were similarly constructed to those originally invented by Vespasian, and subsequently by Titus, for carrying on their sieges : and beside these, a sixty-cubit tower was also put together, completely cased with iron ; whence the Romans, discharging missiles from numerous scorpions and balistas, quickly dislodged those who were fighting from the ramparts, and prevented them from showing themselves.

At the same time, also, Silva, having constructed a large battering-ram, directed it to play without intermission on the wall ; and having, though with difficulty, effected a breach, he laid it in ruins. The Sikars, however, before this could be done, had hastily thrown up another wall inside, which, being soft and capable of breaking the violence of the stroke, was not likely to meet with the same fate from the engines. It was constructed as follows :—Large beams were laid lengthways continuously, and fastened together at the extremities. There were two parallel rows of these, distant from one another the breadth of the wall, and the intermediate space was filled up with

earth. To prevent this from falling through, as the mound was raised, they bound together, by other transverse beams, those that lay lengthways. Thus the work appeared to the enemy like a building; but, when the strokes of the machines began to play, they were of course weakened by it: and the materials, settling down by the concussion, became more compact.

Perceiving this, Silva, thinking it easier to destroy the wall by fire, ordered the soldiers to hurl on it a number of lighted torches. Being made, for the most part, of wood, it soon caught the fire; which, owing to its hollowness, penetrated quite through and burst forth in a volume of flame. At the commencement of the conflagration, the north wind, which blew in their faces, occasioned the Romans great alarm: for, turning back the flame from above, it drove it directly against them; insomuch that, as their engines seemed likely to be burned, they had almost given up all for lost. But the wind, as if by Divine interposition, suddenly changing to the south, blew strong in an opposite direction, and, carrying the flame, impelled it against the wall, which throughout its entire depth was now in a blaze. The Romans, having thus experienced the help of God, returned rejoicing to their camp, with the determination of attacking the enemy on the ensuing day; and they kept more vigilant watch during the night, lest any of the besieged should secretly escape.

6. But neither did Eleazar himself meditate flight, nor had he any intention of permitting others to do so. Seeing the wall consumed by the flames, and able to devise no other means of safety, or occasion for a display of valour, and setting before his eyes what the Romans, should they prove victorious, would inflict on them, their children, and their wives, he planned the death of all. And, judging this best under present circumstances, he assembled the most resolute of his comrades, and incited them to the deed by such words as these:—

“As we have of old determined, my brave comrades, neither to serve the Romans, nor any other than God;—for He alone is the true and just Lord of men—the time has now come which enjoins us to verify by our actions this resolve. Herein then let us not disgrace ourselves; we who have hitherto refused to submit even to an unendangered servitude, but who now, along with servitude, shall have to undergo intolerable punishment, if we shall fall alive into the hands of the Romans.

“For we were the first of all to revolt, and we are the last in arms against them. I think, moreover, that this hath been granted to us as a favour by God, that we have it in our power to die honourably and in freedom;—a privilege which has not fallen to the lot of others,

who have been defeated contrary to their expectations. Let another day dawn, and assured capture awaits us ; but there is still the unfettered choice of a noble death with those dearest to us. For this our enemies are unable to prevent, though fervently they pray to take us alive :—while for us to conquer them in battle is no longer possible.

“ Perhaps, indeed, we ought from the very first—when, having chosen to assert our liberties, we suffered such severe treatment from one another, and still worse from our foes—to have guessed the purpose of God, and to have known that the Jewish nation, formerly dear to Him, was doomed to perdition. For, had He continued favourable, or only moderately incensed at us, He would not have overlooked the destruction of so many men, nor have delivered His most holy city to the flames, and to the desolating hands of enemies.

“ But we hoped, forsooth, to survive alone of all the Jewish race, preserving our freedom, as if we had been guiltless towards God, and had participated in no crime ;—we who had even instructed others to transgress. Observe, therefore, how He exposes the vanity of our expectations, involving us in difficulties and distress which exceed all that we could anticipate. The impregnable nature of the fortress has not availed for our security ; and, even though we have an ample supply of provisions, and piles of arms, with abundance of every other requisite, God Himself has most visibly wrested from us our hope of safety. For not of its own accord did the fire that was driving against our enemies return against the defences prepared by us. No ; all this is but the vengeance for the many injuries which we have, in madness, ventured to commit against our fellow-countrymen ; for which let us not await punishment from our bitterest foes the Romans, but receive it from God through ourselves. It will be milder than they would inflict. For let our wives die undishonoured ; our children, ere they know what slavery is ; and, when once they are removed, let us confer a noble favour on one another, preserving our freedom as a becoming shroud.

“ But, first, let us destroy with fire our property and the fortress. For I know well the Romans will be grieved to lose at once our persons and our goods. Our provisions alone let us spare ; for these will testify, when we are dead, that we were not subdued from want ; but that, as we had resolved from the beginning, we preferred death to servitude.”

7. Thus spoke Eleazar ; not, however, in accordance with the sentiments of those present. Some there were, indeed, who were eager to obey, and deeming death honourable, were all but filled with delight ; but others, of softer mould, were moved with compassion for their wives and families ; and especially when their own dissolu-

tion was thus set before them, the tears that flowed as they looked at one another testified the disinclination of their minds. Seeing them recoiling, and broken in spirit by the magnitude of his proposal, Eleazar feared lest their invocations and tears should unman even those who had listened to his appeal with fortitude. Accordingly, he did not fail to follow up his exhortation. Rousing himself, and inspired with strong determination, he essayed a more elevated strain, descanting on the immortality of the soul. Bitterly complaining, and looking steadfastly on those who were in tears, he resumed:—"Most deeply was I deceived in thinking that I was aiding brave men in their struggles for freedom—men determined to live with honour, or to die. Ye were, it seems, no better than the common herd, either in courage, or in fortitude; afraid even of the death which should deliver you from the direst evils—and this, too, while it imports you neither to delay, nor wait for an adviser. For of old, and from the first dawn of reason, have the national laws and the divine precepts, confirmed by the deeds and noble sentiments of our forefathers, continued to teach us, that life, not death, is a misfortune to men. For it is death that gives liberty to the soul, and permits it to depart to its proper and pure abode, where it will be free from every calamity. But so long as it is imprisoned in a mortal body, and infected with its miseries, it is, to speak most truly, dead; for association with what is mortal befits not that which is divine. Be it, then, that the soul, even while incarcerated in the body, is capable of much; for it makes that frame its sensible instrument, invisibly moving it, and leading it forth in its actions beyond the range of a mortal nature. But it is not until, freed from that weight which hangs suspended from it and drags it down to earth, the soul hath re-assumed its proper sphere, that it enjoys a blessed energy, and a power every way unrestricted, remaining, as God himself, imperceptible to human eyes.

"For not even while in the body does it present itself to view. It enters unperceived, and unseen again withdraws; its own nature one and incorruptible, though a cause of change to the body. For whatever the soul hath touched, lives and flourishes; whatever it has removed from, withers and dies; so much of immortality is left to it. Let sleep be to you a most convincing proof of what I say—sleep, in which the soul, undistracted by the body, enjoys apart from it the sweetest rest, and, conversant with God through its relationship to Him, traverses the universe, and foretells many events of futurity.

"Why should we fear death, loving, as we do, the repose of sleep? and how can it be otherwise than foolish, while pursuing the liberty

which depends upon our life, to grudge ourselves that which is eternal? We ought, indeed, instructed by our native institutions, to afford to others an example of readiness to die. But, nevertheless, if we must support these views by a reference to foreigners, let us look to those Indians who profess the discipline of philosophy. The period of life, as a necessary ministration to nature, these good men reluctantly endure. They hasten to disengage their souls from their bodies; and, when neither impelled nor harassed by any evil, through desire of immortal life, they intimate to their acquaintances that they are about to depart, and no attempt is made to prevent them; but all count them happy, and every one gives them messages for his friends, so certain and most real do they believe that intercourse to be which souls maintain with each other.

“ They then, after attending to these instructions, commit their bodies to the fire, that thus their souls may be separated from their mortal tenements in the utmost purity, and expire amidst laudatory hymns. Their dearest friends escort them to death, more readily than other men do their fellow-citizens when entering on an unusually long journey. For themselves, indeed, they weep, but then they pronounce blessed, as now receiving the rank of immortality. Are we not, then, ashamed of entertaining less elevated sentiments than Indians, and of bringing, by our pusillanimity, a foul reproach on our country’s laws, which are the subject of emulation to all mankind?

“ But, even had we from the first been educated in opposite principles, and taught that to live is the supreme good, and that death is a calamity, still the occasion is one that calls upon us to bear it with cheerfulness, since we die by the will of God, and from necessity. For of old, as it appears, God passed against the whole Jewish race in common this decree—that we should depart from life, if we would not use it aright. Do not ascribe the blame to yourselves, nor the credit to the Romans, that this war with them has involved us all in ruin; for these things have not happened through their might, but a more powerful cause has interposed to give them the semblance of victory; for by what weapons of the Romans were the Jews of Cæsarea slain? They had not so much as a thought of rebelling. They were in the act of celebrating the seventh day, when the multitude of the Cæsareans, rushing on them, massacred them unresisting, with their wives and children, without paying any regard even to the Romans themselves, who regarded those alone as enemies who, like us, had revolted.

“ But it will be urged, that the Cæsareans had always cherished a grudge against the Jews who were amongst them, and that they seized

that opportunity to gratify their ancient spleen. What, then, shall we say of the Jews of Scythopolis, who hesitated not to wage war on us in behalf of the Greeks, though they declined uniting with us, their kindred, to take vengeance on the Romans. Much, therefore, did their good-will and fidelity towards the Scythopolitans profit them, cruelly butchered as they were, they, and the whole of their families. This was the requital they received for their alliance! for what they prevented them from suffering at our hands, that they endured, as if they had themselves wished to inflict it.

“It would be tedious to specify every single instance; for you know that there is not a city throughout Syria which has not destroyed the Jews who dwelt in it, though more hostile to us than were the Romans. The Damascenes, for instance, without being able to devise so much as a plausible pretext, filled their city with most atrocious slaughter, butchering eighteen thousand Jews, with their wives and families. And as to the multitudes who perished under the torture in Egypt, we were informed that they exceeded some sixty thousand.

“But, perhaps, it was because they were in a foreign land, and unable to offer any opposition to their enemies, that these perished thus. Yet had not all those who in their own territory entered into hostilities with the Romans resources sufficient to inspire them with confident expectations of success? We had arms, with walls, and fortresses well nigh impregnable, and a spirit undaunted by any danger in the cause of freedom; and by these were we encouraged to throw off the yoke. All these, notwithstanding, availed us but for a brief season, and only served to buoy us up with hopes, while they proved to be the source of greater misfortunes. For all have been taken—all have fallen into the hands of our enemies! as if provided, not for the security of those who prepared them, but for the more glorious triumph of our foes! As to those who perished in battle, we cannot but count them happy, for they died defending, not betraying, liberty. But the multitudes who have been subjected to the Romans, who would not pity? or who would not make haste to die, ere yet he suffered the same fate with them? Some have expired upon the rack, some under the torture of fire and of scourges. Some, half-devoured by wild beasts, have been preserved alive to furnish them with a second repast, after affording derision and merriment to their foes. But they are to be deemed most miserable who are still living, and often pray for death, yet cannot obtain it.

“And where is now that great city, the metropolis of the whole nation of Jews, protected by so many encircling walls, secured by so

many forts, and by the vastness of its towers, which could with difficulty contain its munitions of war, and which was garrisoned by so many myriads of defenders? What has become of that city of ours in which it was believed God himself was a dweller? Uprooted from its foundations, it has been swept away! one memorial of it alone remaining, the camp of its destroyers still planted upon its ruins! Hapless old men are sitting among the ashes of the temple, and a few women, who have been reserved by our enemies for the basest of injuries.

“ Who of us, then, casting these things in his mind, shall bear to see the sun, even could he live unendangered? Who so much his country’s foe, or who so unmanly, or so fond of life, as not to regret that he lives even until now? Oh! would that we had all been dead, ere yet we beheld that sacred city overthrown by hostile hands, or our holy temple so profanely rooted up! But since we were beguiled with the not ignoble hope, that we might possibly be able to avenge her of her foes, and now that hope is vanished for ever, leaving us solitary, and in distress, let us hasten to die honourably. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives, while it is still in our power to obtain pity from ourselves. For we were born for death, as were those who derive from us their being; and this even the fortunate cannot escape. But insult, and servitude, and the seeing our wives led to infamy with their children, are not evils by nature necessary to man; but are drawn down, by their cowardice, who, when they have it in their power to die, ere yet those evils arrive, refuse to do so.

“ Elated with courage, we threw off allegiance to the Romans, and now finally, when invited to accept of safety, we have refused to listen to the offer. Who then can do otherwise than expect their resentment, should we fall alive into their hands? Wretched then will be the young, whose vigorous frames can sustain many tortures: wretched too will be the old, whose age is unable to bear calamities! A man shall see his wife dragged away by violence, shall hear the voice of his child, crying to a father whose hands are bound. But ours are yet free and grasp the sword. While they are so, let them do us honourable service. Let us die unenslaved by our foes! and, blest with freedom, with our wives and children, depart together from life. This our laws enjoin: this our wives and children implore from us. The necessity for this God has imposed on us, while the Romans would desire an opposite course, and are afraid lest any of us should die before capture. Let us hasten, then, instead of their hoped enjoyment from the possession of our persons, to leave them astonishment at our death, and admiration of our fortitude.”

CHAPTER IX.

1. ELEAZAR, while still anxious to encourage them, was cut short by his auditors, who, filled with some uncontrollable fury, were all in haste to do the deed. They went their way, like men possessed, each ambitious to outstrip the other, and thinking that not to be found among the last would be an evidence of their fortitude and wise determination:—so ardent a desire had seized upon them to slaughter their wives, their children, and themselves. Nor were their spirits damped, as might have been expected, when they came to the work: they adhered inflexibly to the resolution they had formed while listening to Eleazar's address;—natural affection and a love of kindred still alive in every breast, but the reflection that they had consulted best for those dearest to them prevailing over everything else. For, while they clasped and fondly embraced their wives, and took their children in their arms, clinging to them and weeping as they kissed them for the last time, at that very moment, as if executing it with strangers' hands, they completed their design; deriving consolation, under the necessity of killing them, from the consideration of the evils they would endure, if they came into the power of their enemies. And, in fine, no one was found to waver in so stern an undertaking; all going through the work with their nearest relatives. Wretched victims of necessity, to whom it seemed the lightest of evils with their own hands to kill their wives and children!

Unable, therefore, longer to support the anguish they felt for what they had done, and thinking that they wronged those whom they had put to death, by surviving them even but for a moment, they quickly heaped together all their effects, and set fire to them; and then, having chosen by lot ten of their number to slay the rest, they laid themselves down, each beside his fallen wife and children, and throwing their arms around them, made ready their throats for those who discharged the mournful office. These, having slaughtered all without flinching, adopted the same plan of drawing lots with one another, that he on whom it fell should, after killing the nine, destroy himself on the bodies of his companions. Such confidence had all in themselves, that neither in acting, nor in suffering, would one excel another. At length, the nine underwent the slaughter; whereupon he who stood single and last, having inspected the prostrate multitude, to see

whether haply in so wide a murder any were left still requiring his hand, and having ascertained that all were dead, set fire to the palace; and then driving his sword with one collected effort completely through his body, fell down beside his family.

They died under the impression that nothing among them drawing the breath of life remained in the power of the Romans. An elderly woman, however, and another, related to Eleazar, in understanding and education superior to most of her sex, together with five children, escaped by concealing themselves in the subterraneous aqueducts, while the rest were intent on slaughter. Nine hundred and sixty persons, including women and children, perished on this occasion. This catastrophe occurred on the fifteenth of the month Xanthicus.

2. The Romans, still expecting opposition, were under arms by break of day; and, having with planks formed bridges from the mounds to the fortress, advanced to the assault. But seeing none of the enemy, and a dreadful solitude reigning on every side, fire within and silence, they were at a loss to conjecture what had happened. At length they shouted, as on the discharge of a missile, to call forth some of those within. The women, hearing the noise, emerged from their retreat, and informed the Romans of what had taken place; one of them distinctly narrating everything, both what was said and how the deed was done. It was with difficulty, however, that they listened to her, disbelieving so extraordinary a story. Exerting themselves to extinguish the flames, they quickly opened a passage through them, and reached the interior of the palace. Here lighting on a heap of slain, instead of rejoicing as over enemies, they admired the nobleness of their resolve, and the immovable contempt of death which had actuated so many in executing it.

CHAPTER X.

1. THE capture being thus effected, the general, leaving a guard in the fortress, departed himself with his army to Cæsarea. Throughout that country not an enemy remained, completely reduced as it now was by a long-continued war—a war which had been felt by many even in places far remote from Judæa, and had been to them a source of danger and disorder. Moreover, after these events, it so happened that at Alexandria in Egypt many of the Jews lost their lives. For

some of the faction of the Sikars, who had succeeded in escaping thither, not content with safety, again engaged in new projects, and endeavoured to persuade many who had received them as guests to assert their freedom, to look upon the Romans as nothing better than themselves, and to regard God alone as their Lord. When opposed in their designs by several Jews of respectability, they murdered them:—the rest they continued to press with invitations to revolt.

Seeing their frenzy, the leading men of the council of elders, thinking it no longer safe for them to overlook their proceedings, convened a general assembly of the Jews, and there exposed the madness of the Sikars, whom they proved to be the source of all their misfortunes. “And now,” they said, “those men, inasmuch as they had not even by their flight from Judæa attained any sure hope of safety—for when recognised by the Romans they would instantly be put to death—were seeking to involve those who had no participation in their crimes in the calamity which was due to themselves.” They, therefore, exhorted the multitude to ward off the destruction with which they were menaced by these men, and, by delivering them up, to make their apology to the Romans.

Accordingly, perceiving the magnitude of the danger, the people embraced the proposal, and, rushing furiously upon the Sikars, secured them. Six hundred of them were taken on the spot; and those who effected their escape into Egypt and the Egyptian Thebes, were ere long arrested and brought back. On this occasion, such was their firmness, and such their desperation, or strength of purpose, whichever we may call it, that it could not but excite astonishment in every one. For, under every bodily torture and suffering, devised for this one object—to make them acknowledge Cæsar as their lord, not one complied, nor was shaken for a moment; but, submitting to the rack and the flames, as if with bodies insensible, and with souls that almost rejoiced in them, all, despite their sufferings, kept their resolve. But what most struck the spectators was the deportment of the children, not one of whom could be moved to call Cæsar lord. So completely did the force of endurance control the weakness of their bodies.

2. Lupus, who then administered affairs in Alexandria, sent intelligence of these commotions without delay to Cæsar; who, suspecting the inextinguishable thirst of the Jews for innovation, and apprehensive that they might again collect together in great numbers, and draw others away with them, ordered Lupus to destroy the temple of Onias, so called, which was in the district of Egypt, of the same

name. It was built, and received its designation, under the following circumstances. Onias, son of Simon, and one of the chief priests of Jerusalem, fleeing from Antiochus, king of Syria, who was at war with the Jews, came to Alexandria. Having been cordially welcomed by Ptolemy, owing to the hatred which the latter bore to Antiochus, he told him that, "if he would accede to his proposal, he would make the Jewish nation his ally." The king promising to do all in his power, he requested permission to rear a temple in some part of Egypt, and to worship God according to the usages of his country; "for the Jews," he said, "would thus be rendered still more hostile to Antiochus, who had laid waste their temple in Jerusalem; while they would regard him with greater affection, and many would gather round his standard for the sake of freedom of worship."

3. Prevailed on by this statement, Ptolemy gave him a tract of country, a hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis. It was called the prefecture of Heliopolis. Here Onias, having erected a fortress, built with stones of large dimensions a temple sixty cubits high, not like that in Jerusalem, but resembling a tower. The altar, however, he constructed on the model of that at home, and ornamented the temple similarly with offerings, except as regards the fashion of the candlestick. For he made no stand at all; but suspended the lamp by a golden chain, the lamp itself being fashioned of gold, and throwing a blaze of light upon the place. The whole of the sacred area was surrounded with a wall of baked brick, the doorways being of stone. The king, moreover, granted him an extensive district as a source of revenue, both that the priests might have abundance, and that there might be a plentiful supply of necessities for the service of God.

Onias, however, did not act herein from sound motives. Still harbouring resentment for his exile, his aim was rather to rival the Jews in Jerusalem; and he hoped, by erecting this structure, to draw the multitude away from them to it. There was, moreover, an ancient prediction of about six hundred years' standing, delivered by a prophet named Esaias, who foretold the erection of this temple in Egypt by a man of Jewish birth. Thus, then, it was that the temple was built.

4. Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, on receipt of Cæsar's letter, repaired to the temple, and, having carried away some of the offerings, shut up the building. He soon after died, being succeeded in command by Paulinus, who utterly despoiled the edifice of its offerings, threatening the priests with his severe displeasure, should they not produce them all. He prohibited those who wished to worship from approaching the sacred area; and, closing the gates, completely

debarred all entrance to it, so as to leave not even a vestige of divine worship in the place. From the erection to the shutting up of this temple, there elapsed three hundred and forty-three years.

CHAPTER XI.

1. THE desperation of the Sikars fastened, like a contagion, on the cities around Cyrene also. Jonathan, a most abandoned man, a weaver by trade, having taken refuge in that town, prevailed on not a few of the indigent to give heed to him, and led them forth into the desert, promising to show them signs and portents. The multitude, not seeing through his artifices, gave credit to the imposition; but the men of rank among the Jews of Cyrene sent to Catullus, governor of the Libyan Pentapolis, information of his march into the wilderness, and of his preparations. Catullus, having despatched a body of horse and foot, obtained an easy victory over unarmed men. The greater part perished in the encounter; a few were made prisoners, and conducted to Catullus. Jonathan, the originator of the scheme, effected his escape for the moment; but, an extensive and very diligent search being made through the country, he was taken. On being brought before the governor, he devised a means of extricating himself from punishment, while he afforded Catullus a pretext for acts of injustice; falsely accusing the most opulent of the Jews of having prompted him in the matter.

2. These calumnies were readily listened to by Catullus, who, by greatly exaggerating the affair, invested it with serious importance, in order that he too might appear to have happily terminated a Jewish war. But what was more grievous than this—he not only lent easy credence, but, moreover, actually tutored the Sikars in false accusation. He, accordingly, directed Jonathan to name one Alexander, a Jew, with whom having quarrelled some time before he was now at open enmity, and to implicate in the allegations his wife Berenice. These were his first victims. He next slew at one blow all the more opulent of the Jews, to the number of three thousand; a step which he thought he might safely venture on, as he added their property to the revenues of the emperor.

3. But, lest any of the Jews elsewhere should expose his injustice, he gave his falsehood a wider range, and prevailed on Jonathan, and

some of those who had been apprehended along with him, to prefer a charge of sedition against the most respectable of the Jews both in Alexandria and Rome. Among those thus insidiously criminated was Josephus, the writer of this history. The scheme, however, did not succeed according to Catullus' expectations. He repaired indeed to Rome, taking with him Jonathan and his associates in chains, thinking that the false allegations brought forward before him and at his instance would put an end to all further inquiry. But Vespasian, who had his suspicions on the subject, investigated the facts; and having ascertained that the charge preferred against these men was unjust, at the special instance of Titus he acquitted them of the accusations, and inflicted on Jonathan the punishment he had deserved. He was burnt alive, having been previously tortured.

4. On Catullus, for the present, owing to the lenity of the emperors, no further censure was passed; but not long after he was attacked by a complicated and incurable disease, and died miserably; not only tormented in body, but still more deeply disordered in mind. For he was distracted with terrors, and incessantly cried out that he saw the figures of those whom he had murdered standing beside him. And unable to restrain himself, he would leap out of his bed, as if fire and torture were being applied to him. His malady daily increasing, his bowels ulcerated and fell out; and thus he expired, furnishing evidence, than which none can be more striking, that God, in His providence, visits the wicked with punishment.

5. Here we close our history; which we promised to draw up with all accuracy, for the information of those who wish to learn in what manner the Romans conducted this war against the Jews. Of its style, be it left to those who shall read it to judge: but, as regards truth, I would not hesitate confidently to say, that, throughout the entire narrative, this has been my single aim.

SUPPOSED REMAINS OF HERODIUM.

(VOL. I. p. 144.)

THAT we may not appear to assume as certain what perhaps may not yet have been put beyond question, these ruins of towers on the Frank Mountain are, on the plate, designated as "supposed" remains of the structures mentioned in the text, WAR, I. 21, 10. Nevertheless, that they are really such, seems to be in the highest degree probable. In this instance, however, as in so many of a similar kind, we must await the result of those explorations which are sure to be made, and perhaps at no remote time, and which, if carried on at leisure, in security, and with sufficient means at command, will determine many questions relating to the ancient Palestine, and throw a new light upon its history. In the instance before us, a little exploration of the foundations of the towers, and the carrying a trench across the space enclosed by them, would, as we can scarcely doubt, bring to light some unquestionable indications of Herod's structures; and thus, while this one spot was identified, accumulative evidence would be obtained, serving to determine some other and less unequivocal points of topography. Meantime a service is rendered to archæological science, if those spots are indicated, which are the most likely to reward the labours of future travellers in Palestine. The Frank Mountain is undoubtedly a site of this kind.

What Josephus affirms concerning that Herodium which, of the two he mentions, was nearest to Jerusalem, entirely consists, as well with the position, as with the present appearance of the remains before us. He says that two fortress-palaces were constructed by Herod, each with the intention, as it seems, of affording him—like Masada—a place of refuge in the event of popular commotions, and of perpetuating his name; and one of them was to serve as his place of sepulture. And it was the one now in question, probably, (not that towards Arabia,) which was to receive, and which in fact did receive, his remains. This Herodium is said to have been an artificial mound—*κολωνὸν ὄντα χειροποίητον*, and so may have been the actual apex, or truncated cone, of what is called the Frank Mountain. This apex is stated to rise about 300 feet above the level of the broader hill, of which it forms the central point, and which itself has an elevation of 300 or 400 feet above the level of the adjoining Wady. On what account it might merit the epithet bestowed upon it—*μαστοειδῆ*, better than does almost any even-surfaced rotund hill, does not appear; and it is probable

that ample justice would be done to the phrase, here employed by Josephus, and its whole import conveyed, if it were rendered with a less rigid regard to its etymology. In translating this word somewhat more laxly, we should be sustained by a passage in Polybius (V. 70), who, in speaking of Itabyrium, says it is situated upon a round hill (Tabor), ἐπὶ λόφου μαστοειδοῦς—in *rotundo colle*. The Frank Mountain, now assumed to be the Herodium of Josephus, although not to be compared with Tabor, and not rising to half its height, is yet such as that to it, and with nearly equal propriety, may be applied the term which Josephus employs in describing it, as Polybius does in speaking of the other. The Frank Mountain, in fact, is seen far and wide, and it attracts the eye from almost every eminence of this district, south of Jerusalem.

“It is impossible,” says Mr. Tipping, “for the eye to take a survey from any of the heights round about Jerusalem, without at once singling out the regularly conical volcanic-like Frank Mountain. You will, I think, discover it in several of my views. The circumjacent country is desolate and devoid of trees ; presenting nothing but the interminable featureless hills of Judæa, looking like patchwork, from the intermixture of the smooth limestone surface with scanty herbage. At the foot of the mountain, among numerous vestiges of masonry and traces of terraces, I detected stones of moderate dimensions, with the bevelled peculiarity, and a sprinkling of Roman tesserae ; and besides the reservoir alluded to by previous travelers, there is a large massively built oblong erection, which I took to be the same as that described by Pococke as a church. It appeared, however, to me to bear more of a palatial, than of an ecclesiastical, stamp ; nevertheless, my visit to the spot being limited in time, I could not pursue investigations which might perhaps have warranted a satisfactory conclusion. The vaulting and masonry are solid and fine ; the stones large and well finished : I should not hesitate to call it Roman. A few minutes’ sharp climbing among long grass brought me to the summit, where I traced the remains of a wall enclosing the depressed concave interior, with four equidistant circular towers, of which the one at the north-east corner is the best preserved. The two western ones are all but obliterated, as regards the masonry. On the north-east side are the walls of an ancient passage-way, running from the top to the bottom, which doubtless enclosed the highly-wrought flight of steps mentioned by Josephus. I noticed in the north-east tower a cistern or granary, which, though of smaller dimensions, is similar to those at Masada : but, with the exception of these receptacles, the towers appear to have been solidly filled up.” The engraving (vignette) shows the least dilapidated of the towers, and the one at the south-east corner, and also the depression in the centre.

It will be understood, therefore, that the summit of this volcano-like hill is occupied by the remains of four circular towers, and that these are surrounded by a wall, skirting the edge of the summit : a deep depression marks the central space. The view given in the Plate is taken from this

encircling wall, on its northern side, the direction of the eye being due south, and toward the central hollow: the foremost object is the round tower—mentioned by Mr. Tipping, toward the north-east; the ruin more remote, being that of the south-east tower: beyond the range of this view, and of course toward the right hand, and opposite to the towers here exhibited, are the less entire remains of the north-west and south-west towers.

Mr. Wolcott—American missionary, who was Mr. Tipping's companion in this excursion (to Masada and the shores of the Dead Sea) thus describes this spot:—

“ On the following morning (March 17th) we proceeded to the Frank Mountain; passing on our way 'Ain Hamdeh and a scarcely perceptible site, called Bedefelûeh. Having reached the summit of the mountain and examined its remains, we noticed an ancient passage-way, twelve feet wide, running straight down the north-eastern side of the descent. The upper part was a little depressed, and the lower raised; and the rubbish remains in the latter. The ground below, on the north of it, is raised by terraces, built with stones like those on the summit. I had noted these points before observing their exact coincidence with the account given by Josephus of the fortress of Herodium; though the steps of polished stones, in number two hundred, which composed a straight ascent up, are of course swept away. The ruins below are evidently Roman, and are more extensive than they appear from the summit; but the character of the buildings cannot be fully determined. Two vaults of hewn stone remain; and below a wall, three hundred feet in length (in part perhaps a terrace) are the foundations of a round tower. Among the ruins adjacent to the large reservoir, are bevelled stones and the small tesserae of Mosaic work. The present name of the site is Stobal.

“ This burial-place of Herod was the last spot which we examined; and I cannot here take leave of Josephus, our travelling companion, without a testimony of my confidence in him as an historian. On some points, especially in respect to dimensions and distances, he has given only estimates, often imperfect and loose. But in the particulars in which I have had occasion to compare and prove him, I have been impressed with his general accuracy, and my surprise is, that, under the circumstances in which he wrote, he should have produced so faithful a narrative.”—*Bibliotheca Sacra*, No. I. p. 69.

Let us now turn to Josephus.—We have already observed that the distance of the Frank Mountain from Jerusalem corresponds, as nearly as can be expected, with that of the Herodium, as reported by our author—namely, sixty stadia. The Frank Mountain, in a straight line, measures seven and a half Roman miles, nearly equal to sixty Greek stadia, and rather less than seven English miles. Moreover, if we assume this same radius, there occurs no eminence around the Holy City which might at all compete with this, as being probably the Herodium of Josephus. He calls this round eminence “an artificial mound,”—*κολωνὸν ὄντα χειροποίητον*, intending, as we suppose, a

natural hill heightened, fashioned and fortified by art. This application of the term is in fact of frequent occurrence : thus Polybius, speaking of a hill-fort taken and levelled by Philip, describes it as fortified, as well by nature as by art—*ὀχυρότητι δὲ φυσικῇ καὶ χειροποιήτῳ*—IV. 64, 9. It was the Greek usage, as the same writer elsewhere assures us—VI. 42, 2—thus to make available any natural advantages of a site which might spare labour ; nor do the Romans seem to have neglected such incidental aids in their permanent military structures, although, in constructing their camps, they might disregard whatever would interfere with the dimensions and proportions prescribed for such works. Having mentioned the various and costly structures which crowned and surrounded this hill—*γεώλοφον*, and which alone met the eye, either from a distance or from the summit, it might be spoken of as being “entirely artificial ;” although, in fact, a natural elevation had formed its rudiment. This circumstance, however, is not the point most material to our present purpose. Josephus tells us that the “summit Herod embraced with circular towers ;” not informing us with how many. The remains of four such towers, as we have said, now occupy the summit of the Frank Mountain, and their position and distance from each other would seem to indicate that there were, and could be, no more. “Outer walls,” also, are mentioned, and the ruins of an encircling rampart are still apparent. The traces of extensive ruins moreover around the hill, and these in Roman style, and with a sprinkling of tesserae and bevelled stones, accord with the supposition now in question.

This supposition is further strengthened by the fact, mentioned both by Mr. Tipping and Mr. Wolcott, that a passage-way, on the north (or north-east) side, running from the top to the bottom, and twelve feet wide, indicates the existence of an ascent, well comporting with our author’s account of the flight of two hundred steps of “the whitest marble,” which made the access to the palace easy.

The later history of this mound, and of these ruins, does not bear upon our purpose ; and, indeed, their later history is mingled with unauthenticated and improbable legends. It is enough that the existing remains, through whatever mutations they may have passed during the middle ages, exhibit indubitable marks of a Roman origin ; and that they perfectly consist with our author’s description of Herod’s sumptuous structures at a place “sixty furlongs from Jerusalem.” Without therefore assuming as *certain*, or as beyond all possibility of doubt, that which in truth is only in the highest degree probable, short of absolute certainty, we would attach to an instance of coincidence, such as this, precisely that degree of importance which it deserves. Regarded simply in an archæological sense, the identification of a site so remarkable, and the means thus afforded for tracing other connected points of Jewish topography, is not an inconsiderable matter. But we never lose sight of a further, and a more important, purpose—a purpose already frequently adverted to, and in behalf of which we must yet, and frequently, claim the reader’s attention. We mean the incidental, and

therefore the conclusive, corroboration derivable from these sources, of the historic authority of the writings now before us. Our position is this—that Josephus, when not influenced (as in particular instances undoubtedly he was) by sinister motives, is to be regarded as a well-informed and authentic writer; and that the history he has left in our hands, when such deductions as a rigid criticism may demand have been made from his statements, affords us a firm ground—in relation, at least, to the events of his own times. In making good this position, our course is not that of a merely literary analysis of his text, and which, however skilfully conducted, might still leave an ambiguous impression upon the reader's mind; but it is that of an inductive accumulation of what may well be called palpable instances—proofs presented to the eye—tangible attestations which the soil of Palestine, through centuries of revolution, has faithfully conserved, and which it now renders up to be employed for illustrating and authenticating whatever belongs to the most momentous era of the history of man. Let it not be thought that we are labouring to sustain a mighty fabric by the means of single and questionable instances. What we are doing is to accumulate instances, which, when taken in their collective force, must render our ultimate conclusion irresistible. Further and more exact researches in Palestine, if they should remove some from our list of confirmatory instances, will probably add to it a greater number, which hitherto have escaped notice. In the present case it should be added, that, in no other place where Josephus mentions Herodium does he add any circumstance incompatible with the assumption we are now making; and in the instance of one of these allusions, what he incidentally affirms, decisively confirms it:—WAR, IV. 9, 5, where, in mentioning an incursion of Simon and his bands, who encamped at a place called Thecoa, he adds, that he thence sent one of his officers to seduce, if he could, the garrison of Herodium, which was near to it—*ὅπερ ἦν πλησίον*. Now the position of Thecoa, at a distance less than three miles south-west of the Frank Mountain, is placed beyond doubt, as well by various and conclusive ancient testimonies, as by the perpetuation of the name in the modern Tekûa.

EXCAVATION; CITY WALL, NORTH.

IN bringing forward those of this series of Plates that belong to the Holy City, such a selection of subjects has been made as would best serve to exhibit the principal portions of two great mural circuits, namely—that of the Temple enclosure, and that of the city walls. The former—the quadrangle of the Haram—will have been shown on each of its sides, and at several points of view; the latter, also to such an extent, in several of them, as to leave very few portions of it unrepresented. While

some of these views embrace, either one entire side of the city, or so much of the wall as is visible from one spot, others—and the one now before us is of that kind—exhibit a very limited range, and therefore admit of so much detail as to show the style of architecture, and to indicate those intermixtures of earlier and later masonry which characterise almost every structure in Jerusalem.

It is the northern wall—the bend inclosing the high ground of Bezetha, and then running on from the Damascus gate toward the Latin Convent, that has, in every age, sustained the shock of besieging armies; for on this side the approach to the walls is much less acclivitous than on any other; and, at the same time, the level ground, affording room for military evolutions, is much more extensive in this direction than elsewhere. On this side also a broad swell of land, north of the valley of Jehoshaphat, rises—at Scopus, to a commanding height; and it is, therefore, a position which would always be chosen as the base of operations directed against the city.

The wall on this northern side—as appears in the Plate—is itself of commanding altitude; and it runs, for the most part, upon a precipitous ridge, which in several places, as at this point, has been rendered more so artificially. A little further toward the east a wide fosse commences, and runs on to the corner, which it turns. What purpose precisely the excavation here represented was intended to subserve, or, indeed, to what age it should be attributed, or by whom effected, does not appear; but it is one of those spots to which it is well to direct the attention of travellers, inasmuch as it offers itself to exploration, which might probably reveal—if nothing more—the date of the foundations of the wall, and furnish perhaps conclusive evidence bearing on several questions that are still controverted. To some of these questions it would be most unwarrantable to introduce any allusion in a work such as this; but there are others which materially affect the interpretation that should be put upon several passages in our author's history, especially his narrative of the siege. In relation to such points, our course would be clear if Jerusalem, like any European city, had long been, and were now (if we might so speak) in the hand of the antiquarian—open at all points to diligent scrutiny. In that case it might be well to adopt, at once, an opinion, and to sustain it by all available means. But a far more cautious, and therefore a less satisfactory, course is dictated to us, and especially so at the present moment, in dealing with the topography of Jerusalem. In this instance, an unlooked-for, and, as it may seem, an improbable, turn of affairs, may enable European archæologists to dispense with questionable argumentation, and to appeal to such palpable evidences as must be exclusive of controversy. The Holy City is the *mine* of sacred history, and it is a mine into which no shaft has as yet been sunk. The surface only has been partially examined; and this, while it indicates the existence of a deep-seated treasure, is far from having furnished a sufficient warrant for any confident conclusions; except, indeed, upon two or three points of an obvious kind. When

Moslem fanaticism shall have vacated Palestine, Jewish archæology—Jewish history, will require to be re-written, or extensively amended. There cannot be a doubt that the foundations of the walls, gates, towers, palaces, and Temple, might be traced, by means of well-directed and not very difficult cuts, effected across the site; such, in fact, as will inevitably be made whenever European improvements come to be applied to the Holy City.

MAGDALA.

THE scenery around the lake of Galilee, such as it appears in its simple reality, and unaided by the licence of ambitious art, will have been placed before the reader in a series of Plates exhibiting the shores of this water as seen from the most characteristic points around its circuit: reference to a map will make it easy to connect the whole, as furnishing an almost complete panorama of the hills within which it is embosomed. The view from the Theatre of Om Keis, already described (Vol. I. p. xxxv.) presents the lake to as great advantage, perhaps, as any other spot; showing its extent, obliquely, from south-east to north-west, and exhibiting the general aspect of the western shore, and the bordering hills, of Galilee. The view of Tarichæa (Vol. I. p. 50) taken in a nearly opposite direction—that is to say, looking toward Om Keis—shows the southern extremity of the lake, and a portion of the eastern ranges, beyond the Jordan, and its tributary, the Yarmûk. The shore line, northward from Tarichæa, embracing the site and neighbourhood of Tiberias, is seen in the view of the Hot Baths (Vol. I. p. 41). A view of Tiberias, looking over the town, and across the lake, in a direction toward the lofty ridge of Jebel Sheik, embraces the north, and north-eastern shores and hills. The Plate, to which the reader's attention is in this instance invited, was taken from a jutting ridge, or offset from the hills, running down to the margin of the water at about three miles' distance north-west from Tiberias. The dilapidated village El Mejdél—a name believed to conserve within its consonants the ancient Magdala—catches the light on the edge of the rising foreground, which slopes down to the water's edge. Beyond this village, a triangular plain of small dimensions stretches itself out, at the foot of the hills, through the midst of which a stream, fed during the rainy season from their eastern slopes, takes its course. This little plat, scarcely measuring three miles in its extreme length, and one and a half in breadth, is, on some good ground of probability, assumed to be the Gennesareth of the Gospel history; Capernaum being situated at the northern extremity of the plain, and, in the view before us, just at the foot of the hills toward the right. A view of the same plain from *that* spot, or near to it, Khan Minyeh, will next come to be noticed.

The hills, which shut in this plain of Gennesareth, have an altitude and a variety of outline which render the scene more picturesque than most around the lake. The lofty Safed—catching a gleam of light against the dark sky, shows itself above the nearer range:—it is “the city set on a hill.” Whether or not the allocation of ancient and evangelical names be quite free from doubt, it is certain beyond all reasonable question, that this hill-encircled plain was one of the spots most frequented by our Lord, during the several seasons of his “abode in Galilee.” This plain is one of the very few spots around the margin of the lake, whereupon “great multitudes of people” could easily find space and room: it contained also several villages where Christ and his personal followers might be entertained: and, moreover, the abrupt eminences, the deep ravines, and the secluded nooks, which abound among the hills immediately adjacent, readily afforded those opportunities for retirement from the crowd, of which, as the Evangelists tell us, he failed not often to avail himself. The religious reader, then—without accusing himself of too easily yielding to a romantic credulity—may take the evangelic history in hand, and imagine himself to see the crowds dispersing that had listened, on the margin of the lake, while “Jesus taught them from a ship” close in shore, and while looking at these impending heights, he may believe that they were those which offered the Saviour a place of repose when he “withdrew with his disciples to a mountain to pray.”

Of a very different complexion, indeed, are the transactions with which the narrative of Josephus—earlier as well as later—connects these same spots. No moral contrast can be more violent than that which meets us, when, turning from the peace-breathing passages of the Gospel history, we make a search, in the page of the Jewish historian, for the names of places so familiar to our ears. It is however partially only, and incidentally, that Josephus finds occasion to mention the places most noted in the Gospels; and, on the other hand, of the many cities, towns and villages named by him, it is a very few only that occur also in the Gospels; and unless a various reading be adopted in one passage—*LIFE*, 24—Magdala is not among the few. The Hebrew import of the word is—tower or castle, and by implication, on the ground of circumstantial evidence, the tower of Gamala, so frequently referred to in the *Life*, and elsewhere, has been taken to intend *this* tower, and this Magdala: that it was near to Tiberias seems certain, if we admit the evidence of the Talmudists (as cited by Lightfoot, *Cent.* LXXVI.); and if so, then this plain, and its bordering heights, were the scene of several of the petty conflicts, and marauding assaults, recorded by Josephus in his *Life*; and they witnessed also the more terrific encounters of the Galilean insurgents with the Roman legions; or if our subject allowed so remote a digression, and we were to trace the history of this same spot, and its vicinity, as far onward as to the crusading age, we should find it signalized by some of the most deadly of the conflicts that took place between the Moslem and Christian hosts. It was among these very hills, and scarcely two miles from the

skirts of the plain of Gennesareth—that is to say, immediately on the western face of the dark hill on the left, in this view, that the Sultan Saladin, in one terrible day, scattered the Christian forces, and broke, finally, the power of the European invaders in the East. The very same spot, however, is brought within our proper range by our author's narrative of Herod's exploits in vanquishing the brigands of Galilee.

Two views, presently to be adverted to, exhibit the precipitous fronts of the rocks, at, or near, Hatîn, the perpendicular surfaces of which are pierced with almost innumerable excavations, and which were the retreats of the robbers of that age, as well as of those of later times. But before these are described, it will best conduce to a clear understanding of the topography of a region claiming so much regard, to pursue our course from Magdala, in a direction north-east, along the shore of the lake, about three miles, and until we reach a spot already mentioned, where the hills again approach the margin of the water (the extreme right in the view of Magdala). From that spot, and at a place called Khan Minyeh, we turn and look over the plain we have just skirted, in a direction nearly south-west. The view thence obtained is presented in the Plate—

THE PLAIN OF GENNESARETH.

THE lake appears, in this view, of course, on the left hand, and the horizon is bounded by the hills toward its southern end—above Tiberias, and then by those of Magdala. The peculiar appearance of the distant rocks immediately overhanging the plain, toward the right, should be noticed: these are the above-mentioned precipitous fronts of Ibn Ma'an, and Hatîn, which, with their honeycomb excavations, were the head-quarters of the ancient brigands. The level ground which forms the mid-distance in this view is a rich flat, well watered, and is susceptible in the highest degree of profitable culture. The foreground presents the ruins of a viaduct, or bridge, as well as Khan, and the scattered remains of an ancient town. That this spot was in fact the site of Capernaum, and that the plain is "the region of Gennesareth," is an inference resulting from a concurrence of circumstantial evidence—no part of it absolutely conclusive, but the whole sufficient to justify an assumption thus guardedly expressed.

The tract of country which Josephus, (WAR, III. 10, 8,) calls Gennésar, and whence the lake received its appellation, although it is not *by him* so clearly defined as to enable us to decide where, on the shores of this sea, it should be looked for, could not have been on the eastern side—if the Evangelic narrative is duly regarded; nor is there on the western side *any other level space* to which that description can be made to apply. Moreover Rabbinical testimony supports the same conclusion. Our author thus describes the plain, now in question; and the passage it may be well to cite in this instance, presenting as it does so striking a contrast between the ancient luxuriance and the present desolation of a region, the

natural advantages of which—the deep rich soil—the abundant irrigation and the genial climate, are all unchanged and unspent, and are awaiting the hand of man.

“ Extending along the Lake of Gennesareth, and bearing also its name, lies a tract of country, admirable both for its natural properties and its beauty. Such is the fertility of the soil that it rejects no plant ; and accordingly all are here cultivated by the husbandman ; for so genial is the air, that it suits every variety. The walnut, which delights beyond other trees in a wintry climate, grows here luxuriantly, where also is the palm-tree, which is nourished by heat ; and near to these are figs and olives, to which a milder atmosphere has been assigned. One might style this an ambitious effort of nature, doing violence to herself, in bringing together plants of discordant habits ; and an amiable rivalry of the seasons, each as it were asserting her right to the soil ; for it not only possesses the extraordinary virtue of nourishing fruits of opposite climes, but also maintains a continual supply of them. Thus it produces those most royal of all—the grape and the fig, during ten months without intermission ; while the other varieties ripen the whole year through ; for besides being favoured by the genial temperature of the air, it is irrigated by a highly fertilizing spring, called Capharnaum, by the people of the country. This some have thought a vein of the Nile, from its producing a fish similar to the Coracin of the lake of Alexandria. This tract, trending along the shores of the lake, which bears its name, is thirty furlongs in length, and twenty in breadth.”

This measurement exceeds a little, but not much, the dimensions of the plain before us, reckoning the level space up to the very foot of the hills. The luscious and “royal fruits” here mentioned are all gone ; but they might, no doubt, be made to reclaim their ancient home : the soil is rich and deep, the supply of water unfailing, and the mean temperature certainly not less than in former times. Beside a stream, breaking down from the heights, at the spot just above the village seen in the view of Magdala, and the waters of which are carried in many channels over the surface, there are two fountains, the one in the western skirt of the plain, and the other at its northern extremity, at Khan Minyeh, near to the point of view in the other Plate. Which of these may claim to be the fountain, Capharnaum of Josephus, seems to be questionable—probably it is the latter ; and if so, the town, Capernaum, was undoubtedly not far distant.

“ We took a path,” says Professor Robinson, “ along the inner side of the plain at the foot of the western hills, in order to examine some ruins said to exist in that direction. . . . We soon struck an artificial water-course, coming down from before us, in which was a considerable brook, irrigating this part of the plain. This we followed up, and found it scattering its rills and diffusing verdure in all directions. At 10^h 10' we reached a large and beautiful fountain, rising immediately at the foot of the western line of hills. At first we had taken it for the source of the brook which we had followed up ; but we now found that the latter is brought from the

stream of Wady er-Rübüdîzeh, further north ; and is carried along the hill-side above this fountain, to water the more southern parts of the plain." This round fountain, which the Professor does not think to be the one mentioned by Josephus, is, he says, "inclosed by a low circular wall of mason-work, forming a reservoir nearly a hundred feet in diameter ; the water is perhaps two feet deep, beautifully limpid and sweet, bubbling up and flowing out rapidly in a large stream, to water the plain below. Numerous small fish were sporting in the basin ; which is so thickly surrounded by trees and brushwood that a traveller would be apt to pass by without noticing it. The Oleander (Diffeh) was growing here in great abundance, now in full bloom ; and Nûbk-trees were also very frequent. The waters of this fountain irrigate the ground between it and the lake ; but those from Wady er-Rübüdîzeh, being higher up, and still more copious, are carried over the more northern and southern portions of the plain."—*Bib. Res.* III. 284.

Burckhardt passed over this ground in a different direction. He places the site of Capernaum at a point two miles further north—Tel Houm ; and in proceeding southward says, "We came to a ruined khan, near the borders of the Lake, called Mennye (Minyeh), a large and well constructed building." This building must have fallen much into decay since the time of Burckhardt's visit, 1812—an interval of thirty years. He continues—"Here begins a plain of about twenty minutes in breadth, to the north of which the mountain stretches down close to the lake. That plain is covered with the tree called Doum, or Thedar, which bears a small yellow fruit like the Zaarour. It was now almost mid-day, and the sun intensely hot : we therefore looked out for a shady spot, and reposed under a very large fig-tree, at the foot of which a rivulet of sweet water gushes out from beneath the rocks, and falls into the lake at a few hundred paces distant. The tree has given its name to the spring, Ain-et-Tin ; near it are several other springs, which occasion a very luxuriant herbage along the borders of the lake. The pastures of Mennye are proverbial for their richness among the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries. High reeds grow along the shore, but I found none of the aromatic reeds and rushes mentioned by Strabo."—*Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 319.

Strabo, in the place referred to by Burckhardt, (XVI. p. 755,) does not so define what he says of the produce of this region as to afford a modern traveller any sufficient guidance in looking for either the aromatic rush or the balsam-tree.

The view of Hatîn, page 129, is one of several illustrative of the scenery of the lake on this, its north-western shore, and it represents, from a near position, the precipitous gap which appears at a distance in the view of Gennesareth. But this very remarkable spot, with its excavations—the

retreat of the brigands of Galilee—is still more fully exhibited in a view of Ibn Ma'an, in connexion with which it will be noticed.

For a similar reason—that is to say, in order to abbreviate these descriptions of the Plates by avoidance of repetitions, the view of Masada, page 126, is for the present passed over; being, as it is, one of a set of Plates, including a plan of the spot. These views will exhibit on all sides an object remarkable on every account, natural and historical, and which has not hitherto been brought before the public. At present, it is enough to say, that this general view of Masada is from the lofty range, which shuts in the Dead Sea on the western side;—the direction of the eye being nearly due east, the opposite range being the mountains of Moab, seen at the distance of about twenty miles.

SCYTHOPOLIS.

THIS place is very frequently mentioned by Josephus, and always in a manner indicating its importance; which is attested also by other ancient writers. What we have to do therefore is, to identify the Scythopolis of the Greek and Roman writers, first, with the ancient city mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures, to which the Greek name became attached, and next, with the modern site which is now assumed for it. If there be ground enough for this identification, many other points, geographical and historical, collaterally or inferentially connected with this, may the more readily be determined, and some important elucidation obtained, also, for passages in the Biblical text, as well as in that of our author. The first of these points is sufficiently ascertained, both in a direct and an indirect manner. The Scythopolis of Josephus and other writers is clearly the Bethshan, or Bethshean, of the Old Testament. The Septuagint translation, in rendering Judges i. 27, says, “Neither did Manasseh (the tribe) drive out the inhabitants of Bethshean . . . τὴν Βαιθσάν—and her towns”—and adds a parenthesis—ἥ ἐστὶ Σκυθῶν πόλις—“which is the city of the Scythians”—i.e. Scythopolis. Josephus, in describing the allocation of the tribes, *ANTIQ.* V 1, 22, mentions “Bethshan, which now is called Scythopolis;” and *VI.* 14, 8—“Bethsan, which now is called Scythopolis;” and *XII.* 8, 5—“the city Bethsan, which by the Greeks is called Scythopolis;” and again, *XIII.* 6, 1. And so the series of Greek writers, down to Stephen of Byzantium, who says that Scythopolis—formerly Nyssa, of Cœlo-Syria, was called at the first by the Barbarians—Basan. It does not seem necessary to cite these testimonies in an instance where no doubt can be entertained; but assuming it as certain, and anticipating for a moment our proof that the truncated hill represented in the Plate is the Scythopolis and the Bethshan of antiquity, we turn to the Scripture narrative of the defeat and death of Saul, *1 Sam.* xxxi. This fatal conflict of the Israelites with the Philistines had

probably commenced upon the Great Plain, the south-eastern extremity of which is bisected by the low range of Mount Gilboa. Toward these hills Saul had led off his routed people; whither they were hotly pursued, and upon which he, and his sons, and armour-bearer died, and his people "fell down slain," and where the royal corpses were the next day found by the Philistines:—"they found Saul and his three sons fallen in Mount Gilboa." After mutilating the bodies, and dedicating the armour of Saul to their goddess Ashtaroth, they "fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan." This place was not more than five or six miles from the battle field, or from the foot of Gilboa, and it was the principal city of the district. But a further reason for this choice, by an insulting foe, suggests itself when we look at the remarkable eminence represented in the Plate. If indeed this be the Bethshan and Scythopolis of antiquity, and if (as appears) the summit was crowned by the lofty walls of an acropolis, then no place more fitted for the triumphant exposure of the body of the vanquished king could be found. Lowered from the parapet of this wall, it would be visible from afar—a token to all of Israel's discomfiture and subjugation! "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon!"

But there were loyal hearts at hand: Jabesh Gilead, as placed by geographers, is about seven miles east of Jordan, and directly opposite to Bethshan. Its people, braving the danger of such an exploit, set out, and travelling "all night," (the distance may be fourteen miles,) reached it probably before sun-rise, and, surprising the watch, effected their purpose; for "they took the body of Saul, and the bodies of his sons, from the wall of Bethshan, and came to Jabesh, and burnt them there." Thus do the circumstances of the Biblical narrative consist, not merely with the relative position of the places, but with the natural peculiarities of the spot.

The ancient name, Bethshan, is—for the purpose of identification, sufficiently indicated in the modern name Beisan, especially when, as in this instance, every thing concurs to sustain the same conclusion. Bethshan—Scythopolis, was situated on the borders, or at the edge of the Great Plain, I. MAC. v. 52; on the border of the possessions of Manasseh, toward the north, ANTIQ. V. 1; and on the southern border of Galilee. In the LIFE, sect. 65, Josephus reminds his adversary, John of Tiberias, that his native city was thirty stadia from Hippos, sixty from Gadara, and a hundred and twenty from Scythopolis. Now although these measurements severally do not seem exact, the deficiency of each is respectively equal, so as to consist well with the proportionate dimensions of the triangle;—the modern Beisan being assumed as identical with the ancient Bethshan; and the series of writers, from Epiphanius and Jerome, down to the historians of the Crusades, exclude any doubt on this point. William of Tyre, (XXII. 16,) says that Bersan—Beisan—Scythopolis, is situated between Mount Gilboa and the Jordan, in a marshy plain; and the descriptions of modern travellers are all to the same effect. Burckhardt says, (p. 343,) "Bysan (Bethsan, Scythopolis) is situated upon rising ground, on the west side of the Ghor, where the

chain of mountains bordering the valley declines considerably in height, and presents merely elevated ground, quite open toward the west. At one hour distant, to the south, the mountains begin again (*i. e.* the eastern extremity of the Carmel range). The ancient town was watered by a river, now called Morit Bysan, or the water of Bysan, which flows in different branches towards the plains. The ruins of Scythopolis are of considerable extent, and the town, built along the banks of the rivulet and in the valleys formed by its several branches, must have been nearly three miles in circuit. The only remains are large heaps of black hewn stones, many foundations of houses, and the fragments of a few columns. I saw only a single shaft of a column standing. In one of the valleys is a large mound of earth, which appeared to me to be artificial; it was the site perhaps of a castle for the defence of the town." This "mound of earth" is probably the hill represented in the Plate.

Mr. Tipping thus describes his visit to this spot, 19th May, 1842:—"From Jenin, a large village—noted for the fantastic costume of the women—girt in with productive gardens, rich with the palm and mulberry, I directed my course to Bethshean. Crossing the desolate range of Fakuah, (Gilboa,) the descent to Bisan I found tedious and rugged in the extreme, so much so, that the perpetual stumbling of my horse distracted my attention from the extensive view which this range commands: on the right, the great level of Esdraëlon, and in front the entire Ghor, and the ranges of Ajalon, east of Jordan. The basin of Scythopolis was before us, with its remarkable Acropolis, rising in the centre. The silvery ribbon of the rivulet Bisan, was discernible through the hot haze, which, at the time, rendered so much the more monotonous and dismal this waste, strewn with masses of black basalt. The landscape was blackened also by several extinct fires—some were still raging at a distance. On approaching the site of Bethshean we came to a bridge, which is, I suppose, the one alluded to by Irby and Mangles; though the form of the arch is not Roman. I encamped near a wretched khan, then occupied by peasants who had come from the neighbouring villages to protect the ripe corn from the wild boars, which abound in this region. The stream which this bridge bestrides is milky in hue, and so warm as to induce me to believe that it is fed by a thermal spring, of which ancient authors mention several as known and frequented in this district. I also noticed on the bed of the stream certain calcareous formations and deposits, which reminded me of the famous petrified cascade of Hierapolis in Asia Minor. The bridge I have just mentioned is signalized, in my recollection, by my having there encountered a party of Bedouen, by whom I was stripped, plundered, and threatened with death: fortunately an elder Bedouen coming up, I was rescued from the hands of these ruffians, and my dress and equipment was restored to me. A similar peril, the previous day, and a sleepless night—annoyed as I was by mosquitoes, scorpions, and ants, gave me a disgust at the whole region, and indisposed me to give so much attention

to the ruins around me as otherwise I might. A branch strikes off from the stream already mentioned toward the west, and skirting the side of the Acropolis, joins the main stream below. Toward the south-east, there is a large circular space, enclosed by a rising slope, where I found a well-preserved theatre—the one referred to by Irby and Mangles. There is also hereabouts a great quantity of black foundations, and heaps of stones. The Acropolis, which I did not ascend, is a slope, covered with high ripe grass:—black patches showed that it had recently been burnt. I detected a few lines of walls; but no trace of building or tower. The hill suggested the idea of a volcanic cone. The rivulet, skirting the north side of the hill, rushes down a deep chasm clothed with the richest and rankest vegetation; the precipitous sides of this ravine were ornamented with pendant stalactites, which at once confirmed the supposition above mentioned, as to the existence of a thermal spring. In following this stream I came to an old bridge, with a high narrow arch: passing the bridge, and looking back, the Acropolis presents itself in a very picturesque aspect, and owing to the descent, it appeared to rise, detached on all sides, and presented itself in a far more imposing manner than as seen from the other side: from this spot I took a drawing. On mounting the high ground round about the Acropolis, I saw that the site consisted of a kind of basin, formed by the encircling streams, and enclosed by rocky slopes; the whole commanded by the central hill. These slopes, especially in the vicinity of the theatre, must have been covered with houses and buildings. To the north-east of the Acropolis, on the high slope, are numerous excavated tombs, some of them containing sarcophagi, but which are without ornament.”

Here, again, is a spot—at present rarely approached by European travellers, from the unusual ferocity, and the marauding habits of the Bedouen that haunt it—where a leisurely survey of the surface, together with judicious explorations beneath it, would undoubtedly reward cost and labour. The site of Scythopolis would offer to the archæologist—we assume this as in the highest degree probable—many relics of that long ecclesiastical period during which it was noted at once for its monastic establishments, and its metropolitan church importance. There would next, in the retrogressive order of the spade and pickaxe, be found the monuments of that earlier ecclesiastical period, during which Christian structures were slowly coming in the place of Roman works, civil and military: nor would there, probably, be wanting coins and marbles belonging to the Asmonean and Macedonian times. Nor should it be thought improbable, that, wherever a *remarkable natural site* may clearly be identified with an ancient Israelitish city, some relics of so remote an age may have been conserved beneath and among the foundations of later structures. This sort of probability attaching to places such as Hebron, Gaza, Shechem, and Baalbec, belongs in full force also to Bethshean.

In the view presented in the Plate, the direction of the eye is south-west by west. The heights of Gilboa bound the prospect to the right and left

of the Acropolis. The ruins in front appear to be those of a Roman bridge. A Saracenic bridge, in a less dilapidated state, bestrides the Tell Beisan, westward of the hill. The remains of a theatre are discernible in the Plate toward the right hand.

THE LAKE PHIALA.

THE lake, or pool, represented in this Plate, is one of the most singular natural objects in Palestine, and should invite the particular attention of travellers. The circumstances under which Mr. Tipping discovered it were such as to forbid his doing more than to take the sketch from which afterwards a drawing was made. Among the objects specified as those which would claim especial notice—should the opportunity present itself—one was, to find among the rugged and difficult paths of the district embraced by the curve of Jebel Heish—the Phiala of antiquity. Not one of the spots hitherto marked in maps as the position of this pool could well be accepted as the true one—if the account given of it, and of its relation to other spots by Josephus, were to be regarded as correct; and if at the same time the description of pools, seen or visited by some modern travellers, were to be made to agree at once with the text of Josephus, and with the maps of Palestine that are usually referred to. We shall first adduce Mr. Tipping's narrative of his discovery of this lake. He says:—

“ On leaving Baniās Paneas (Cæsarea Philippi) I went in quest of Phiala; and though I cannot hesitate to assume it as certain that the pool represented in my drawing is *the* Phiala of Josephus, I will not attempt to disguise the fact, that my researches in this neighbourhood were attended with considerable perplexity. I will however narrate the circumstances of this exploring excursion, and then every one may draw his own conclusion from the facts so placed before him.

“ Dr. Robinson, in his excellent map of Palestine, places Phiala where he *supposes* it to be (*i. e.* where the text of Josephus would lead us to look for it); a few miles further south he places also the name—Birket-er-Ram: but it must be borne in mind that he did not visit this district; and that therefore the two names find their places on the authority, either of travellers, or of geographers.

“ A peasant, familiar with the country, having been procured as guide, I asked him what lakes there were in this region, besides Tuburieh and Huleh. He held up a finger in reply. ‘What is *that one* then?’—‘The Birket-er-Ram.’ ‘But do you not know that there is a small round Birket to the north of Birket-er-Ram, and nearer to the great mountain?’ ‘Yes,’ said he, ‘you are right;—there is such a one—a very small one, in a valley in the very mountain.’ To this, of course, I directed him to conduct me. We took a north-easterly course, and soon began to ascend. Some hours

climbing convinced me that we had reached an elevation at which it would have been absurd to seek for Phiala ; but the panorama, embracing a great part of Palestine, was so fine and varied as to balance the disappointment of a fruitless toil. Meantime my guide was so confident that we were approaching the Birket I wanted, that I followed—curious to see the result. We came at last to a deep, regularly formed oval bowl, the sloping sides of which were dotted with the stunted ilex, and there were vestiges of snow. The bottom of this bowl consisted of a level of rank green grass, soaking with water, and in the centre an oval pond, which I took to be some 150 or 200 feet in length. This pool, I was assured, is never dry. It manifestly receives the constant meltings of the snow, not only from the sides and ridges of the bowl, but from the impending mountain heights.

“Now, leaving out of the question the elevation of this spot (say 5,000 or 6,000 feet) it would be futile to attempt to compare the features and relative position of this pool with the description of Phiala as given by Josephus. (What *this* pool is you may see in the sketch I took of it on the spot, and which is in your possession.) On our way down from this lofty position, our guide began a sort of parley with my servant, expressing his vexation that he could not please me.—I had asked for a round little Birket, beside Birket-er-Ram—he had found the very thing, and that would not do ! We continued our descent, directing our course towards Mejdal, a hamlet about half-way between the ridge of Jebel Heish and Banias, and on the high road to Damascus, and where I intended to pitch my tent. On approaching the edge of the declivity at the base of which this hamlet is situated, the view given in the plate most unexpectedly presented itself : a little lake, looking very much like a circular mirror, set in a frame of gentle eminences, was before us ! The reddish brown tint of these encircling hills contrasted well with the unruffled surface of the blue waters of this pool. ‘That is the lake I wanted,’ I exclaimed to my guide. ‘No ;’ said he, ‘*that* is Birket-er-Ram.’ You will recollect that, on the authority of Dr. Robinson’s map, I had sought for a lake *other than the Birket-er-Ram*, placed too far south to be the Phiala of Josephus.

“I was then too much fatigued to attempt reaching the lake, which seemed to be at the distance of two or three miles from my encampment, and at the other extremity of a rich small plain, backed by the heights and wooded ranges of Jebel Heish. I thought I detected something like a gully, or a watercourse, between me and the lake. You will not fail to notice several points of discrepancy between my account of this pool, and those given by the few writers who believe themselves to have visited or seen the Phiala of Josephus. Irby and Mangles speak of the sides of the Bowl as regular and richly wooded ; now the sides of er-Ram did not seem to me perfectly regular ; nor were they richly wooded—though this might indeed be affirmed of the long dark range which skirts the landscape beyond.

“My guide (and in this respect his report was confirmed by that of others whom I asked) declared positively that this er-Ram, and the pool in the mountain (above mentioned) are the only sheets of water that are found in the entire region. It seemed therefore to me quite clear that Dr. Robinson, correctly judging of the position of the Phiala of Josephus, had placed it in his map very nearly where I found this last named pool ; but that, not having visited the district, and finding the Birket-er-Ram on other maps, seven miles toward the south, he had inserted it there upon his own map. I believe there is no expanse of water where *that name* occurs on maps ; but that, as affirmed by the people of the country, the two I had just seen are the only lakes any where about ; and that the lower of the two is the actual Phiala of antiquity.”

The Caravans from Damascus to Jerusalem and Gaza take either a road (or route, as it should be called) running south-west, and crossing the Jordan about seven miles below its exit from the Lake of Galilee ; or one passing north of the lake, and between it and the Lake Huleh. But there is also a less frequented path, still more to the north, and which is, in part at least, identical with an ancient road, of which the remains may be traced at intervals. This road, probably, was the highway between Damascus and Tyre. It makes its way through a ravine of the Jebel Heish range, at a village named Beit Jenn ; (as seen in the vignette) and thence runs on, south-west by west, to Banias (Cæsarea Philippi). On *this* road Mr. Tipping was advancing—in the opposite direction—from Banias towards Damascus, as related above, when he went in quest of the Lake Phiala. After ascending Jebel Heish to a too great elevation, he retraced his steps, and in descending came in sight of what we may so well consider as the “Bowl” of antiquity. His position was then north-west of the pool, and between it and him, in the valley or ravine, whence figures are seen ascending (in the plate), are found the remains of the *ancient* Damascus road.

Now all this consists well with that incidental notice of the spot which Josephus affords us, III. 10, 7, page 46. “Apparently,” he says, “Panium is the source of the Jordan ; but the water is in reality conveyed thither by a subterranean channel from Phiala, so called ; which lies not far from the high road on the right, as you ascend to Trachonitis, at the distance of 120 furlongs from Cæsarea (Philippi). From its circumference it is appropriately designated Phiala ; (Bowl) being a lake in form of a wheel. Its waters remain uniformly on a level with the margin, without subsidence or overflow.”

This distance from the site of the ancient Cæsarea, measured upon the road track, agrees with that to the spot whence Mr. Tipping took his sketch ; and the lake then before him, bearing south-east, would be at a short distance from the ancient road, and on the right hand of the traveller coming from Cæsarea toward Trachonitis—*i. e.* going toward Damascus. We can scarcely expect in any instance a more exact corroboration of an incidentally mentioned point of ancient topography.

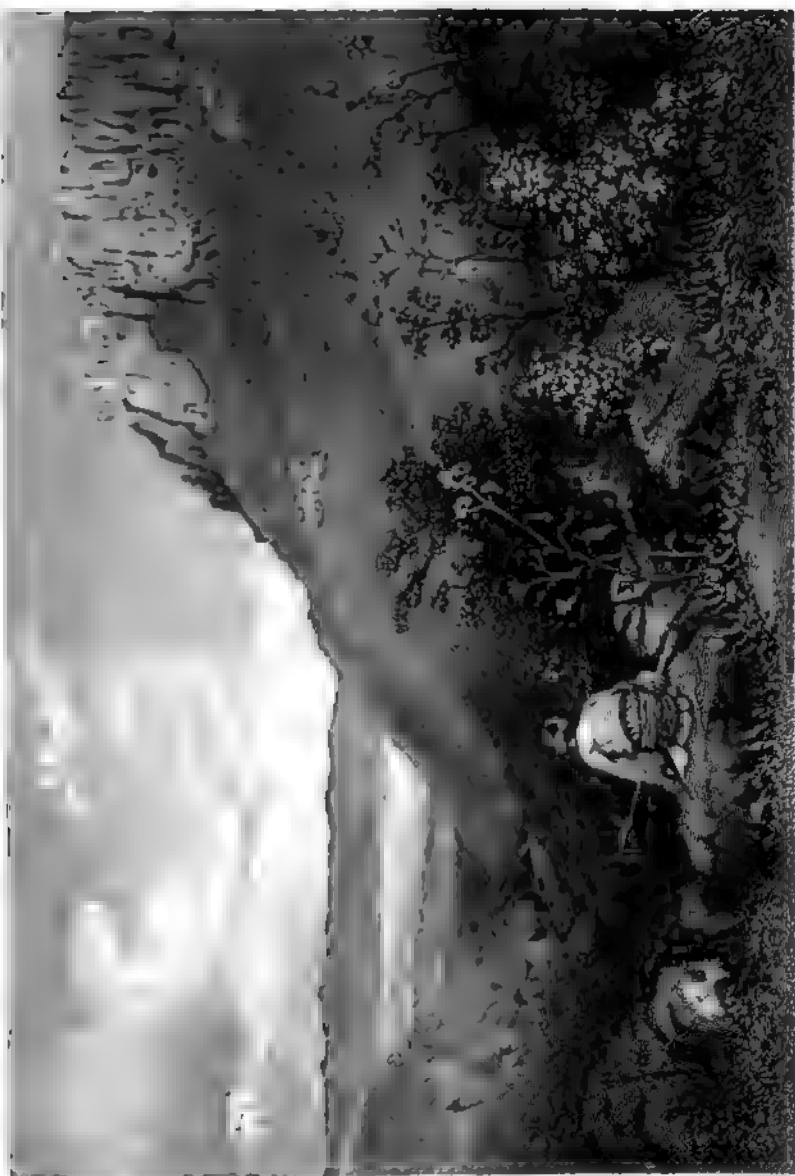
It would be a useless, and probably a fruitless labour, and altogether unsuited to our immediate object, to attempt to determine whether the pool thus described and represented by Mr. Tipping, is the same that has been visited and described by former travellers. Captains Irby and Mangles speak of the one which they assume to be the Phiala of Josephus, and which they found on their route westward from Damascus to Banias, February 24, 1818. "The first part of the road lay through a fine plain, watered by a pretty winding rivulet, with numerous tributary streams, and many old ruined mills; we then began to ascend over very rugged and rocky ground, quite void of vegetation; in some places there were traces of an ancient paved way, probably the Roman road leading from Damascus to Cæsarea Philippi, as we ascended and had the highest part of Jebel Sheikh (Anti-Lebanon) on our right." This was of course on the *eastern* ascent of Jebel Heish; but if we may assume the Phiala of both travellers to be the same, then it is important to notice the circumstance, that the traces of a Roman road may be discerned on this line. Having passed the ridge of Jebel Heish, and ascended some way upon the southern side of the loftier range—Jebel Sheikh, and "passing a very small village about one o'clock, we saw," they say, "on our left" (it would be on their left, travelling westward) "close to us, a very picturesque lake, of little more than a mile in circumference, apparently perfectly circular, and surrounded by sloping hills, richly wooded. The singularity of this lake is, that it has no apparent supply or discharge; its waters appeared perfectly still, though clear and limpid; a great many wild fowl were swimming in it. . . . Josephus mentions this lake under the name of 'Phiala'—a cup."

The very different circumstances under which travellers see the same objects—a different time of the year, different direction, and more or less of leisure, may in this instance sufficiently account for the points of diversity in comparing the above passages with Mr. Tipping's narrative. As to Burckhardt, it is evident in following him on his track, as given in his "Description of a Journey from Damascus through the Mountains of Arabia Petræa, &c.," that he was proceeding on the modern road which crosses the Jordan at the bridge between Lake Huleh and the Lake of Galilee; and therefore, at a distance ten miles south of the ancient road. Speaking of a reservoir which he thereabouts met with, he says, "I take this to be the Lake of Phiala, laid down in the maps of Syria, as there is no other lake or pond in the neighbourhood," p. 315. But if it were assumed so to be, neither the description given of it, nor its position in relation to Damascus and Banias, nor its distance from the latter, would agree with the testimony of Josephus; or, these particulars would consist with it only in that loose and imperfect manner which has given occasion to so many insinuations as to the value of our author's evidence. Thus, for instance, if Burckhardt's well-deserved reputation for sound judgment and accuracy were considered as far more than enough to outweigh the "ambiguous reports of Josephus," a hostile modern critic would not hesitate, after

noticing these discrepancies, to add, "This description of Phiala, it must be acknowledged, very poorly corresponds with that given by Josephus ; but then it is only one among the many instances of exaggeration, or of inaccuracy, with which his writings abound." Not so, however ; for a pool—a "bowl," precisely corresponding in its characteristics and in its position with the Phiala of the Jewish historian, is now brought before us ; and it should be regarded as a new proof, among very many, that he was both well informed, and correct in his reports of (at least) the natural features of the country with which he professes to have been familiarly acquainted. In the heat and haste of a military narrative, he tells us, as by accident, that, "on your right hand, at a little distance from the road, as you travel from Cæsarea toward Damascus, and 120 furlongs from the former, there is a bowl-like pool, always full to the brim ;" and precisely there such a pool is now found. So it is often that the unchanging permanence of the natural features of a country lends to written history a portion of its own consistency and perpetuity. An ancient writer might, perhaps, have erased from his tablet, as superfluous, a casual notice of a physical peculiarity, attaching to the scene of the events he is narrating. But he has not erased it, and that peculiarity still presents itself—the modern traveller notes it ; and it is the duty of the annotator upon an ancient historian to do so too ; and thus to gather up those fragments of evidence which, from their independence and undesignedness, best support the reputation of his author.

BEIT JENN.

WE have just said that the traffic, ancient and modern, from Damascus westward, to the several ports on the shores of the Mediterranean, southward, has followed three principal routes, crossing in its course the Lebanon range, and its offsets. Besides these there was one on the right hand, toward the north-west, which passed through Heliopolis (Baalbec) to Tripoli. One on the left hand, running by Safed, and through Galilee, reached the coast at Ptolemais, (Akka ;) while a middle track, by Baniyas (Cæsarea Philippi) led direct to Tyre and the neighbouring maritime towns. This *middle route*, of which, as an ancient and artificially constructed road, traces are still discoverable, followed the course of a ravine in crossing Jebel Heish—the southern limb of Mount Hermon. This vignette exhibits the entrance of this pass, seen as the traveller approaches it from Damascus, and is looking in a north-westerly direction. Before him, and at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles, is a summit of Jebel Sheikh—the loftiest range of the Lebanon mountains. On either hand are seen the rugged sides of the valley through which the road takes its course.



W. T. P. 1910

IBN MA'AN

A winter torrent finds its way along this valley, and shows its presence in the verdure of the poplars that skirt its banks. This spot appears to have afforded a resting-place, as its name indicates, to the caravans of ancient, as it does to those of modern times. An inconsiderable stone-built village, occupying the site of one more ancient, stands at the base of the hill, on the left hand. This hill exhibits those rich varieties of colour that distinguish, and we may say, beautify, so many rugged mountain scenes in Syria.

KULAT IBN' MA'AN.

For understanding the position of the remarkable rocky escarpment exhibited in this Plate, the reader is referred to those Plates in the FIRST Volume which belong to the same range of hills. In the view of MAGDALA, the spot represented in *this* Plate is seen on the extreme left, at the distance of two or three miles from the shore of the lake. In that of GENNESARETH, it is again discernible among the rocky heights which border the plain on the right hand. In the view of HATIN, which faces page 129, the same heights are seen in a direction looking S.W., which in this of Ibn' Ma'an are shown in the contrary direction. In this Plate, a part of the lake, toward its northern end, presents itself, together with the hills of the east country. The summits of Jebel Heish are just visible toward the left, rising above and beyond the nearer range. The level, seen on the nearer side of the lake, is the Plain of Gennesareth, already referred to. The narrow valley leading up from that plain toward the rocky foreground, is the Wady el-Hûmâm—high up in which are ruins, seemingly of remote antiquity. The hill to the right, surmounted by the excavated precipitous rock, is thickly covered with tall grass and bushes, concealing the scattered blocks that have tumbled from the impending heights in the course of ages. Architectural remains are found on the summit of this height ; but it is the numerous, or we might say, the *innumerable* excavations wherewith the whole of this escarpment is honey-combed, that render it peculiarly remarkable. These excavations are the more to be noted, corresponding as they do with several passages in the JEWISH WAR, in the ANTIQUITIES, and in the LIFE OF JOSEPHUS.

The calcareous hill shown in this Plate has a perpendicular face on two of its sides ; and upon these are apparent the mouths of many natural caverns, reaching far into the body of the hill. Advantage has been taken, in a remote age, of these openings and chambers, which have been enlarged, and made to communicate one with another, by passages cut through the rock. In places the natural openings have been walled up, in a substantial manner, and other means have been used to render the place a commodious retreat for several hundred persons, as well as a safe and almost impregnable

fortress. Large reservoirs have also been formed in some of the caverns, intended to hold the drainage from the superior surface of the hill.

A concurrence of evidence confirms the supposition that, in this instance, we have before us the very spot that had been signalized, on often-repeated occasions, by the constancy, and as often by the obduracy, and by the woes, of the Jewish race, as well as by the ferocity of their oppressors, when, at a later time—that of Herod—these strongholds sheltered and emboldened the bands of marauders that held the two Galilees in subjection. It was here, as we venture to suppose, that those events occurred which are mentioned in the history of the Maccabees, and which are referred to or narrated by Josephus.

In what manner the leaders of banditti at this time were used to avail themselves of the facilities afforded them by the nature of the country may be learned from our author's account of the marauding chief, Simon of Gerasa. Book IV. c. 9, § 4. The same caverns—the work of nature improved by art, have in turn given shelter to the worst, and to the best men : in these “dens and caves of the earth” the robber and murderer has hid himself and his spoil ; and hither have resorted many “of whom the world was not worthy.”

DAMASCUS GATE.

THE Plate, Vol. I. p. xlvii., shows the masonry of the city wall, where the work of later ages has left it visible, or where the modern part has crumbled away. The spot therein represented is found within the square tower seen on the right hand in this view of the exterior wall. Over and beyond this tower appear the domes of the church of the Holy Sepulchre ; and further to the right is a tower of the citadel—Hippicus. The entire front of the Damascus Gate and the adjoining wall is of the Saracenic age ; unless at a point or two where the modern incrustation has peeled off, and exposed the interior stones. But *within*, as is partially seen in the Plate above referred to, large surfaces of the ancient masonry are exposed to view, and these substructures have all the firmness, the regularity, and the precision of jointing, which bespeak a high antiquity ; or which at least must be held to exclude the supposition that this wall may have been an after work, in which the scattered materials of a more ancient structure have been employed anew. There are portions of the Haram wall which plainly indicate that sort of confusion and want of fitness, which necessarily attach to a work constructed upon the site, and with the materials of a ruin. The *later* construction of the upper part is shown by the means employed by the Saracen builders to give an appearance of uniformity to the entire surface.

“Before coming to the Gate of Damascus,” (in the direction *from*

Hippicus,) "we observed," says Dr. Wilson, "what we had not seen alluded to in any book of travels, that the wall for some extent above its foundation bears, in the magnitude and peculiarity of its stones, the evidence of great antiquity. The Saracens have made grooves in them, to make them correspond symmetrically with their own workmanship above; and the traveller is apt to pass them by without notice. They are decidedly of the character, however, which I have mentioned; and they are probably remains of the second wall described by Josephus."—*Lands of the Bible*, I. 421.

Now, as bearing upon a question of topography which, so far as the testimony of Josephus is concerned, claims to be noticed in this work, the reader's attention should be directed to some facts that are presented by a comparison of the two Plates here referred to—namely, that representing the INTERIOR WALL, and this of the DAMASCUS GATE.

In the first place then, let the *aspect* of the Damascus Gate be noticed, which is very nearly north-west: it stands at a right angle (nearly) with a line drawn from the north-west corner of the Haram, midway through the valley or depression which is followed by the Damascus road. This would be the *natural position* of a principal outlet of a city, on the supposition that the interior town spreads out to the right and to the left, within the walls. The placing a gate at the extreme end, or at an acute angle of a wall, is not to be looked for, unless it be in positions where some peculiarity of the ground leaves no choice to the builder. As a general rule, a city gate ranges along with the wall in which it is placed. But even if, in this instance, a departure from the rule might have been imagined, the supposition is excluded by the facts before us. The unquestionably ancient masonry, which is represented in the view of the INTERIOR WALL, occurs in the projecting tower, seen on the *right* hand in this view of the *exterior* wall; consequently, it indicates the *direction of the wall onward*, from the Damascus Gate, toward the western projection of the present city wall. That is to say, the Damascus Gate stands as a principal entrance to a city, which usually (if not invariably) must occur midway in a reach of wall; and not at the point of an acute bend.

The second wall, concerning the direction of which so much controversy has lately arisen, "took a sweep," we are told by our author, from Hippicus to the Damascus Gate. The question then is, whether this *bend* was a sweep *inwards*, or a sweep *outwards*. It might well seem strange that the wall of a city so closely built, and so densely peopled, as was the ancient Jerusalem, should, without any necessity of the site, be made to bend far inward, instead of making an easy curve *outward*. It might also seem strange that a writer describing his native city, and therefore thinking of its boundary lines *as from within*, should, in speaking of the direction of a part of the walls say, it "makes a curve," from this point to that, when what he intends is, that it is deeply inflected toward the interior of the city.

But now, in place of any hypothesis, whether probable or improbable, we find the ancient masonry of the wall running on from the Damascus Gate continuously *outward*, as to the city, and sweeping onward, across the valley toward Hippius. This portion of the ancient wall extends *visibly* about 300 feet from the Damascus Gate ; and might probably be laid bare by exposing the foundations of the city wall further on in the same course.

NORTH-EAST CORNER OF THE HARAM.

THE Plate, Vol. I. p. xlii. WALL NEAR ST. STEPHEN'S GATE, shows the *eastern* face of the Haram wall, at its extreme limit towards the north. The vignette Plate now before us exhibits the *northern* face of the same wall, along with the more modern walls which abut upon it. At this point the ancient masonry, with its bevelled joints, rises to a greater height than it does in other places ; for, at this corner, there may be counted eleven tiers of stones above the general level of the ground. The direction of the eye is here nearly due south ; and the arched gateway gives admission to those sacred precincts which the feet of the "faithful," and none but theirs, may tread.

OM KEIS.

(GADARA.)

THE architectural remains embraced in this view demand some attention. They mark, as it is believed, the site of Gadara, a place very frequently mentioned by Josephus. They occur at a spot bearing S.E. by E. from the southern extremity of the Sea of Galilee, at the distance of about six miles from its borders, and very near to a bend of the Yarmak—the principal tributary of the Jordan—being a confluence, collecting the streams that drain the East Country, or Bashan, far and wide.

In the Plate before us the direction of sight is nearly east, and the view connects itself with that presented in the Plate, Vol. I. p. xxxv.—REMAINS OF A THEATRE, near the Lake of Galilee. In that plate the aspect is nearly north, commanding the lake almost in its whole extent ; and the ruins which there form the foreground, here take position in front of the distant hill which shuts in the view. The reader must now be referred to the note upon *that* Plate, page xxxv. where a passage from the Journal of Irby and Mangles distinctly describes the objects which are presented in *this*. The "street" there mentioned is here seen in front, and



JULIUS CÆSAR.

on the face of its dislocated pavement it exhibits the tracks of wheels which, eighteen centuries ago, rumbled through the crowded ways of a populous city. On either side of this pavement the fallen columns show where stood its temples, halls, and palaces. Similar remains of the architectural magnificence of the place are scattered over the uneven surface around, far and wide.

Josephus tells us, Book III. c. 7, that Vespasian not only abandoned the inhabitants to an indiscriminate slaughter; but overthrew the city itself. That it was however afterwards restored appears from the fact of its having long held an important rank among the metropolitan cities of Syria, after the establishment of Christianity. Some confusion, however, attaches to the historical notices of this place, from the circumstance that there were one or two other cities of Palestine of the same name.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

THE high fortunes of Cæsar glanced only—once and again—upon the destinies of Judæa. Yet in his account of what occurred in these instances, we find Josephus consistent with the known character and policy of this great man.

Pompey had brought the Jewish prince, Aristobulus, and his children, captives to Rome. Him, after the fall of Pompey, Cæsar released, returning him to his country, supported by two legions; but there he early met his fate by poison, and thus for a time the expectations of Cæsar in Syria were disappointed. These reverses were however temporary; and in accepting the proffered friendship of so valiant and skilful an enemy as Antipater (father of Herod) Cæsar, guided by an instinct never wanting in men of his order, secured for himself the able and faithful services of one who might otherwise, not improbably, have thwarted his purposes in the East. The honours and appointments thus earned by the Idumæan leader at the hand of Cæsar, may well be regarded as the main means that enabled this half Jewish prince to found the monarchy which, as subservient to Rome, secured for the Jewish people, through a long course of years, a degree of national importance which, on other conditions, they could not have enjoyed. In this view, therefore, JULIUS CÆSAR may properly be thought of as having laid the foundation-stone of the Jewish monarchy in the family of Herod. Pompey had vanquished and spared Judæa. Cæsar was the author of its renovation.

Antipater, by Cæsar's favour, exercised authority as Procurator of Judæa.

This Lower Pool measures 133 feet on each side ; its depth is about 50 feet, (Robinson says 21 feet 8 inches ;) and it contains a variable depth of water, according to the time of year, inasmuch as its gatherings are chiefly, if not wholly, from the winter drainage of the valley. The sub-structure of this tank is of a kind indicating its high antiquity. The upper portions of the lining-wall and coping have undergone frequent repairs from age to age. Flights of steps, at two of the corners, lead down to the water level.

This pool, although it is of much smaller dimensions, resembles very nearly, in its construction and appearance, the Pools of Solomon, presently to be described ; as it does also the Upper Pool of Gihon, (see the Plate, Vol. I. p. lvii.)

The Plate before us shows that portion of the town which occupies the slope between the Great Mosque and the Pool. The houses, in this part, are substantially built—flat roofed, and these roofs, for the most part, sustain domes—a mode of building which is characteristic of Palestine, if not peculiar to it. The valley, in the centre of which Hebron lies, is richly fertile, and abounds also with ancient trees—oaks and olives ; and the natural recommendations of the site are such as to accord well with those associations that attach to it as the scene of the patriarchal history, and again of that David. It was among these verdant hills, undoubtedly, that the warrior-poet composed several of those sacred odes which have nurtured the devotional affections of the “true worshippers” in every land, and from age to age.

As to the identity of this pool there can scarcely be a doubt. Lord Nugent says, “Its position is the only one which the pool of those times (Scripture antiquity) could have occupied ; and its size, the form of its construction, and the cement with which it is coated throughout, are in accordance with the story of its great antiquity.”—*Lands, Classical and Sacred*, ch. vii.

Several references to the Pool occur in the course of the Old Testament history. It is probable that to these pools, which, from their position, may well have been the reservoirs of pleasure grounds, the Royal Preacher refers when he narrates his own achievements—“I made me great works ; I builded me houses ; I planted me vineyards : I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits : I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees.” Eccles. ii. 4—6.

A less pleasing but more distinct reference to this pool occurs in the history of David, (2 Sam. iv. 12,) for it was by the side of it that he hanged the assassins of Ishbosheth.

HIPPICUS. — HIPPICUS, NORTH SIDE, (A.) — WESTERN
ANGLE OF THE CITY WALL.

IN explanation of these three Plates, a reference should first be made to that given in Vol. I. p. lvii:—Upper Pool of Gihon, and west side of Jerusalem,—which shows the position of the Citadel, and the Jaffa Gate adjoining it. The square towers which rise above the wall, near to the gate, are the same as those shown (as seen from the interior of the city wall) in the Plate—WESTERN ANGLE of the City Wall. In this view the spectator stands near to the extreme western projection of the wall, and the eye traverses the extent of it to that point where it makes a turn eastward, nearly at a right angle, enclosing the Armenian convent, the buildings and gardens of which are seen toward the right. Between these buildings and the Citadel, rise the roof and dome of el-Aksa. The structure of the city wall, as here exhibited, should be noticed. It consists of an interior lower wall, sustaining a pathway below the battlements of the outer crust of the wall, and which, with interruptions here and there, may be pursued to a great extent around the city.

In the Plate—HIPPICUS, the direction of sight is from the interior toward the Jaffa Gate; and the front of the tower on which the light obliquely falls, is the same as that shown in shadow on the next Plate—HIPPICUS (A). This last view was taken from the roof of an adjoining house. The fosse, therefore, the low fronting wall of which appears in the one Plate, is partially seen *in its length* in the other.

“The north-eastern tower,” says Dr. Wilson, (the structure shown in these plates) “which is called by Europeans the ‘Tower of David,’ and which now bears the Turkish standard, is fitted to attract particular attention. It is a quadrangular erection, exhibiting both modern and ancient masonry. The antique portion, which is of course the lowest, is of unequal height, but in some parts it rises from the fosse below (which is partly filled up) to a height of about forty feet, forming apparently a solid mass of building, to which no entrance has yet been discovered. The stones of which it is constructed are bevelled at the edges; and some of them are from eight to twelve feet in length, and about four feet in height.”—*Lands of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 432.

The square tower thus presented in its different aspects, is one of those structures to the lower part of which, unquestionably, a very remote date may be attributed. A continuous historic testimony, reaching down from the Biblical era to modern times, secures its identity, and should attract toward it especial attention. At the first glance, that peculiar species of masonry which has been noticed in the lower ranges of the Haram wall—on all sides, and within and about the Damascus Gate, indicates an origin far earlier than that which belongs to the superstructure, or to any of the

adjoining buildings. In proof and illustration of this, the reader is requested to turn to those Plates of the First Volume which exhibit this same order of masonry in the substructures, namely ;—ENTABLATURE and WINDOW, p. xvi. ; DOUBLE ARCHWAY, p. xxii. ; ELEVATION of the WALL and SPRINGSTONES, p. xxv. ; HARAM WALL, pp. xxxi., xxxii. ; WALL near ST. STEPHEN'S GATE, p. xlii. ; INTERIOR WALL, p. xlvii. The same character of work, peculiar as it is, and without any parallel (it is believed) beyond the limits of that country which once was subject to the Jewish monarchs, will be shown in some other instances which present themselves in the Holy City. It meets us again at Baalbec, at Djebail—the ancient Byblus, and, in a signal manner, at Hebron, in the substructures, angles, and buttresses of the Great Mosque.

Whoever has contemplated, and has carefully examined, the bevelled masonry of these various structures, is compelled to recognise it as the *distinctive mark* of an architectural era ; and moreover, as this order of work meets us invariably under the same, or nearly the same, relative conditions, the high antiquity which is asserted for it appears to be attested in an incontrovertible manner. It is found always to constitute the *lower* portion of any wall of which it is a part ; it combines, in most instances, single stones of prodigious magnitude, with others of smaller dimensions, skilfully intermingled, and yet all highly finished, and very exactly fitted, the joints being perfectly true. And then these substructures are found to sustain superstructures, the style of which indicates clearly enough the age and people they belong to. On these variously chiselled “tables of stone,” we read, in no very ambiguous symbols, the history of the country from modern times, up to the remotest periods of the Hebrew monarchy.

Benjamin of Tudela mentions the ‘Tower of David,’ as it appeared in his time, that is to say, in the latter part of the twelfth century, in terms according well with its present appearance. Those of his nation—about two hundred in number, who were then resident in Jerusalem, dwelt, he says, “in one corner of the city, under the Tower of David. About ten yards of the base of this building are very ancient, having been constructed by our ancestors ; the remaining part was added by the Mahometans, and the city contains no building stronger than the Tower of David.”

With these, and with its present appearance, agrees what Josephus affirms of Hippicus, as completed by Herod. BOOK V. c. 4, p. 127.

HARAM : PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE.

(WEST SIDE.)

THE great quadrangle of the Haram, which anciently had one or more gates on each side, is now accessible on the north and west sides only ;

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1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



for we should not mention, as a frequented entrance, that concealed gallery beneath el-Aksa, which Mr. Tipping explored. The gate of the southern wall has long been closed, except to clandestine feet. The Golden Gate, also, has been sealed for centuries. The Plate already described, NORTH-EAST CORNER OF THE HARAM, shows an entrance under an archway close to the eastern wall. There is another similar entrance at the termination of a street or lane, running north-west by north, from the northern wall. On the western side there are three (or four) entrances. But the most remarkable, and the most accessible of these, is the one situated at the termination of a principal street which runs in a westerly direction toward the Citadel. It is this entrance that is represented in the Plate. The open wooden gate allows to "infidel" eyes a glimpse of the interior; and what is seen in this direction is a portion of the raised platform on which the Mosque of Omar stands, with a colonnade on its southern side. At this spot less of the ancient substructure of the Haram wall is visible than at a few paces toward the right hand, where, at the Jews' place of waiting, these remains rise to a considerable height, and so continue on to the southern corner. What meets the eye above and about this entrance is chiefly Saracenic, with a mixture of Norman architecture, together with some Turkish botching. Here, as in so many places in the Holy City, every age through the track of historic time has left its record; and if this heterogeneous mass could, at leisure, be laid open to the light of day, there can be no doubt that the builders of the age of Solomon might claim their part; those of the kings of Judah theirs; followed by those of the "Return," and then of Herod's time, and of Hadrian's, and of Justinian's, and of those who since have followed as masters of the land.

DJEBAİL ; OR, GEBAL.

THE view of this, for the most part, modern castle, is introduced as furnishing a remarkable instance of the occurrence of that cyclopean masonry, with its bevelled joinings, which so often attracts attention in and about Jerusalem. It here meets us at a remote point, on the coast, northward; but yet a few hours' distance only from Baalbec, where also it so much prevails. These remains of a very remote age present themselves to the eye at several points around this castle. Single stones measure sixteen and eighteen feet in length, and they are wrought in the same careful manner. The occurrence of this peculiar style *here*, that is to say in the Phœnician territory, again at Baalbec—and yet rarely, if at all, elsewhere than at Jerusalem and at Hebron, comports well with the supposition, which the text of Scripture favours, that in all these instances it is attributable to those Phœnician workmen whom Solomon engaged to assist in the construction of the temple.



This place is one among the few that have retained their name, almost unaltered, through the entire track of historic time. Djebail—Jebail—Gebal—גִּבְעַל—signifying a hill. By the Greeks the place was called Byblos. Its inhabitants were celebrated as being well skilled in the mechanic arts. Tyre availed herself of this noted ability in several species of work. Ezekiel says, “The ancients of Gebal (οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Βυβλίων) and the wise men thereof, were in thee, thy calkers,” &c. The massive stones of a mole are said to be perceptible, stretching out from the shore; and on the height are the remains of a spacious theatre. Strabo, xvi. p. 755, mentions this place as situated on a height, not far from the sea. It was signalized by the worship of Adonis, to whom a temple there was dedicated.

VILLAGE OF SILOAM, AND EL AKSA.

THE western declivity of the hill, called the “Mount of Offence,” is occupied by the straggling village of Siloam, which overhangs the right bank of the brook Kedron—a portion of which is seen in this Plate. On the left is the wedge-shaped ridge, called Ophel, at the termination of which is the Fountain and Pool of Siloam. In front, rises the rocky southern aspect of the Temple plateau, with its wall, and within this the Mosque of El Aksa. This Plate shows the general position of that portion which is exhibited in its details in the Plate, (Vol. I.) HARAM WALL, South-East Corner, and it shows moreover, as illustrative of the history of the siege, how secure the city was on this, its southern side, from any modes of attack known to ancient military art.

STREET IN JERUSALEM.—STREET IN JERUSALEM (A).

THE first of these Plates exhibits that mode of arching over the streets which sheds so much gloom upon the thoroughfares of the Holy City. The street here represented is one running parallel to the western wall of the Haram, and at no great distance from it: the spectator is looking nearly due north. The second Plate shows a street which runs at a right angle with the one seen in the first; the direction of sight being west. Both views are quite characteristic of the principal thoroughfares of the city. The pavement, inartificially constructed with stones of all sizes and shapes, and presenting frequent “occasions of stumbling,” is, in many places, almost covered by heaps of rubbish, and of the most offensive matters.

Moreover, as the stone chiefly employed in this paving is of a kind susceptible of a high polish, which in course of time it receives from the tread of man and of the camel, the chances of a dangerous fall are many. Artificers, in various lines, and the vendors of small wares, occupy the vacant spaces and corners; while midway in these narrow lanes, camels squat to receive their load. Besides the archways, at so many points bestriding these streets, overhanging balconies, and basket-work protrusions, diminish the amount of daylight below, and so greatly obstruct the circulation of air, as to give a damp and chilly feeling to many parts of the city.

In pacing the streets of Jerusalem an observant eye is almost at every step attracted by the confusedly mingled remains of past times. Often do the not-to-be-mistaken materials of the *ancient* Jerusalem, with their carefully worked surfaces and fine joinings, constitute portions of wall in the street-fronts of the houses. In some instances such remains may have constituted parts of an ancient structure, which is still in its original position; but more often they have evidently been placed where they are by the hand of the Saracen, the Norman, or the Turk—each in his turn availing himself as he could of the heaps, which, from the time of the destruction of the city, have choked its level ways, and filled up its hollows. Among these confusions of eighteen centuries, learned exploration will one day take its leisurely course, and will do so not without fruit. The streets of Jerusalem, resounding with the tools of the European antiquary, shall utter the secrets of time, and the “stones out of the wall,” when thus questioned, shall answer to the challenge, and tell the story of many ages.

Within the city “you are ever ascending or descending. There are no level streets, and little skill or labour has been employed to remove or diminish the inequalities which nature or time has produced. Houses are built upon mountains of rubbish, which are probably twenty, thirty, or fifty feet above the natural level; and the streets are constructed with the same disregard to convenience, with the difference that some slight attention is paid to the possibility of carrying off surplus water; they are without exception narrow, seldom exceeding eight or ten feet in breadth. The houses often meet, and in some instances a building occupies both sides of the street, which runs under a succession of arches, barely high enough to permit an equestrian to pass under them. I found a good deal of difficulty in riding under them upon a camel. A canopy of old mats, or of planks, is suspended over the principal streets, when not arched. This custom, no doubt, had its origin in the heat of the climate, which is very intense in summer; and it gives a gloomy aspect to all the most thronged and lively parts of the city. These covered ways are often pervaded by currents of air when a perfect calm prevails in other places; but the artificial breeze seemed to me damp and fetid, and quite destitute of the refreshing qualities which belong to a more natural circulation.”—*Olin's Travels*, vol. ii. p. 132.

The drawings from which these Plates are engraved were made during

the winter months ; and therefore they do not show the temporary coverings to the streets above-mentioned, and which would of course be removed when the heats of summer are passed.

“ The pavements of the streets,” says Dr. Olin, “ are of the worst possible description. They are formed of fragments of limestone, of unequal size and thickness, and arranged with no apparent regard to human comfort. On each side, next to the shops, is a sort of raised way, one or two feet high, formed of a row of rough stones, large or small indifferently. Beside these two side-walks is a path, or rather gutter, also paved, but in a style yet more detestable, for donkeys and horses, which have barely room to pass each other. At this season the middle pavement is literally a filthy gutter, partially filled with mire and water.”

ZION.

To put himself into the position whence the objects presented in this Plate could be seen, the reader is referred to the Outline Plate, Vol. I. p. xxv. **ELEVATION OF THE WALL AND SPRING-STONES.** The Turk standing near the corner of the Haram wall in that Plate, occupies nearly that position ; or he should advance a few yards from the wall, and look up in the direction opposite to it. There will then be before him a rugged and steep ascent, confusedly covered with a luxuriant growth of the prickly pear and long grass, filling the spaces in and among dilapidated walls and the foundations of buildings, ancient and modern. The brow of the hill is occupied by the houses of the Jews' quarter, which spreads over the half of Zion, on the eastern side. It is within this quarter that squalor and wretchedness hold their court. An angle of the city wall, with its embrasures, is seen at the extreme left—outside of which, and on the swell of land, the prediction has long been, and is from year to year fulfilled, “ Zion shall be ploughed as a field.”

THE GOLDEN GATE.

THIS Plate exhibits one of the most remarkable objects in the course of the Haram wall. This “ Golden Gate,” which has long been built up, occurs at about one-third of the whole distance, from the north-eastern to the south-eastern corner of the great enclosure. It therefore fronts the steep valley of the Kedron, and is nearly opposite that spot in the valley which has been assumed as the Gethsemane of the Gospel history. It attracts the eye when the city, on its eastern side, is seen from the ridge of the Mount of Olives, near the Church of the Ascension.

A level, or a nearly level, space of a few yards' breadth, which intervenes between the wall and the edge of the valley, is used as a Turkish burying ground. Many modern tombs, together with the scattered remains of those less recent, bestrew this space ; of these tombs two or three appear in the Plate. The double arch, believed to be of Roman workmanship—perhaps of the time of Hadrian—appears as if fixed, in a sort of patchwork manner, upon the far more ancient masonry of the lower ranges of the wall ; and these again are surmounted by the Saracenic work which, on all its sides, completes the wall of this quadrangle. The interior structures at this point, as they have been examined and delineated by Mr. Catterwood, make it evident that at this spot was placed one of the principal entrances to the Temple ; and its heterogeneous architecture brings together (as in the subterranean vaults already described) the work of successive eras—from that of the Jewish monarchy, downward through the times of the Roman, the Saracenic, the Norman, and the Turkish occupation of the Holy City and country. The “Golden Gate,” believed to be the “King’s Gate,” mentioned 1 Chron. ix. 18, led into that cloister which is called “Solomon’s Porch ;” and it may safely be regarded as the entrance through which our Lord passed in and out of the Temple on the several occasions recorded by the Evangelists.

THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

(AS SEEN FROM THE EASTERN SLOPE OF ZION.)

IN this instance the eye is directed toward the north-east. The two eminences to which, in common, the name “Mount of Olives” is assigned, fill the distance—the furthestmost, overlooking the valley beyond the city, northwards ; and the nearer, which directly overhangs the Temple, is crowned by the Church of the Ascension. Immediately beneath, and in front of these hills, as here seen, are—the southern end of the Haram wall ; within it, the west front of the mosque El Aksa, and below these a portion of the city wall. The buildings in shadow, on the left hand, belong to this wall, at the part where they enclose Zion, and not far from the Zion Gate, and in the neighbourhood of the Armenian convent.

The reader’s understanding of the topography, at this spot, will be aided by a reference to the Plate, Vol. I. p. xx., EL AKSA and THE WALL, from the Brow of Zion.

EASTERN ENTRANCE OF THE GREAT MOSQUE AT
HEBRON.

THIS Mosque is one of the most remarkable antiquities in Palestine, and especially so, as it connects itself, in the peculiar style of its masonry, with those substructures at Jerusalem to which the reader's attention has already been invited.

In this view the southern front of this spacious structure, in length more than 200 feet, is seen in perspective, and abutting upon it are buildings—some of Saracenic, and some of Norman origin. The *ancient* portion of the Mosque is readily distinguished from all abutting upon, or near it : this ancient work is the buttress projection and wall, showing the regular masonry with its bevelled joinings. A similar buttress sustains each corner of this quadrangular building, within which the mosque itself is situated. The walls are of such strength and height as to render the enclosure, in fact, a fortress ; and it has actually served this purpose in past times. The unusual incivility, or it might be said fanaticism, of the Moslem population of Hebron, has hitherto almost prevented any careful examination even of the exterior of the building, and has of course barred the entrance to the interior against Franks and infidels. And yet, on grounds of very probable reasoning, this interior, and the cavern or vaults of the substructure, may be assumed to conserve indications, or even actual remains, of the most remote eras. Within this quadrangle, not improbably, is that “cave of Machpelah” to which the bodies of Abraham, of Sarah, of Isaac, and of Jacob, were consigned. Although the climate, the soil, and other conditions of the spot, be far less favourable to the conservation of embalmed bodies than are the sepulchral chambers of Egypt, yet is it credible that, even here, the art of the embalmer may so far have triumphed over time, as to have withheld from utter dissolution these remains of the dead. Nor need it be thought wholly unlikely that what ought to be regarded as immeasurably more valuable than the bones of the patriarchs—namely, some inscriptions of that age, engraven with “an iron pen in the rock for ever,” may here have held their integrity, and may still remain to yield a testimony to the truth of sacred history, available for important purposes in “these last days.”

It is at Hebron, as well as at Jerusalem, when Moslem ignorance and jealousy shall have passed away from the land, that European diligence and learning will almost certainly recover, for the benefit of the human family, some substantial and incontestable corroborations of early Bible history. The borders of the Nile have already yielded their treasures in this way. Those of the Tigris and Euphrates are now doing the like ; and the caverns of Palestine will at last give up their so long hidden attestations to the same purpose. Dr. Olin, in describing this mosque, says :—

“I conjectured that the largest of the stones employed in constructing the walls might be twenty feet in length, and that the quadrangle must be about 200 feet long, by half that breadth. The construction is exceedingly massive, and has an ancient appearance. Square pillars, half imbedded in the ancient wall, extend all around the building, sixteen on each side, and eight upon either end. They are surmounted by a sort of entablature, which runs all around the edifice. The height of the wall has been increased, by an addition ten or fifteen feet high, in the Saracenic style, with turrets at the angles. The whole height may be fifty feet. We approached the main entrance by a broad and noble flight of marble steps.”—*Travels in Egypt, &c.* vol. ii. p. 78.

VIEW FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

THE spot whence this glimpse of the waters of the Dead Sea may be caught, is at, or near to, the summit of the Mount of Olives—above the Church of the Ascension, and parallel with the northern end of the Haram, and of course, therefore, the view is taken in the contrary direction—eastward. The mountains of Moab skirt the prospect, in this instance, as they do in the view of ANATHOTH, in that of the POOLS OF SOLOMON, and in that of MASADA, Vol. I. p. 126. This range, nearly uniform in its contour and elevation, bounds the prospect, eastward, from all the high grounds of southern Palestine, through a distance of nearly 100 miles, north and south. The building on the right hand is a ruined tomb (wely) similar to many with which monkish traditions have connected Scripture names.

The summit of the Mount of Olives has been reckoned to be 2,397 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. Again, the Dead Sea is now declared to be depressed not less than 1,312 feet below *that* level. Consequently, there is a difference of about 3,700 feet between this summit and the surface of the sea. The eastern shores of the sea, as seen in this view, are upwards of twenty miles in a direct line from the summit of Olivet, and there intervenes the ridge of hills, running south from Jericho to the Dead Sea, at the point where the wady of the Kedron finds its exit. That these waters should, under these conditions, be visible at all from Olivet, is what would not have seemed probable. That they *are so* is certain ; but whether constantly may be a question ; as also, whether, when visible, this is not an optical accident, attributable to the refractive power of an atmosphere more dense, perhaps, than any other through which terrestrial objects are any where seen.

This conjecture may seem to receive support from what is mentioned by a recent traveller, Dr. Wilson, who, in describing the prospect from the roof of the Greek convent at Bethlehem, says—“Of the deep basin of the

Dead Sea we had a good view ; and we even thought that we saw the surface of the waters, till, on using our telescope, we found that we had been labouring under an ocular illusion, arising from the exhalations, and the consequent haziness of the atmosphere."—*Lands of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 395.

"From the Valley of Jehoshaphat," says Benjamin of Tudela, "the traveller immediately ascends the Mount of Olives, as this valley only intervenes between the city and the mount, from which the Dead Sea is clearly seen." It is not quite certain whether what follows comes in as a parenthesis merely. "Two parasangs from the sea stands the salt pillar into which Lot's wife was metamorphosed, and although the sheep continually lick it, the pillar grows again, and retains its original state." Then he says—as if returning to the Mount of Olives—"You have a prospect upon the whole valley of the Dead Sea, and of the brook of Shittim, even as far as Mount N'bo."

THE POOLS OF SOLOMON.

THESE remarkable structures are found at el-Burak, a station on the usual route from Hebron to Jerusalem, and at the distance of about six miles from the Holy City. The direction of sight, in this view, is north-east by east. The continuous line of the mountains of Moab, beyond the Dead Sea, as it is here seen, are at a distance of about thirty miles. The northern end of the sea intervenes, therefore, between these mountains and the heights next below them, which are those that wall-in the sea on its western shores ; or rather, they are the inland swells which abruptly terminate on these shores.

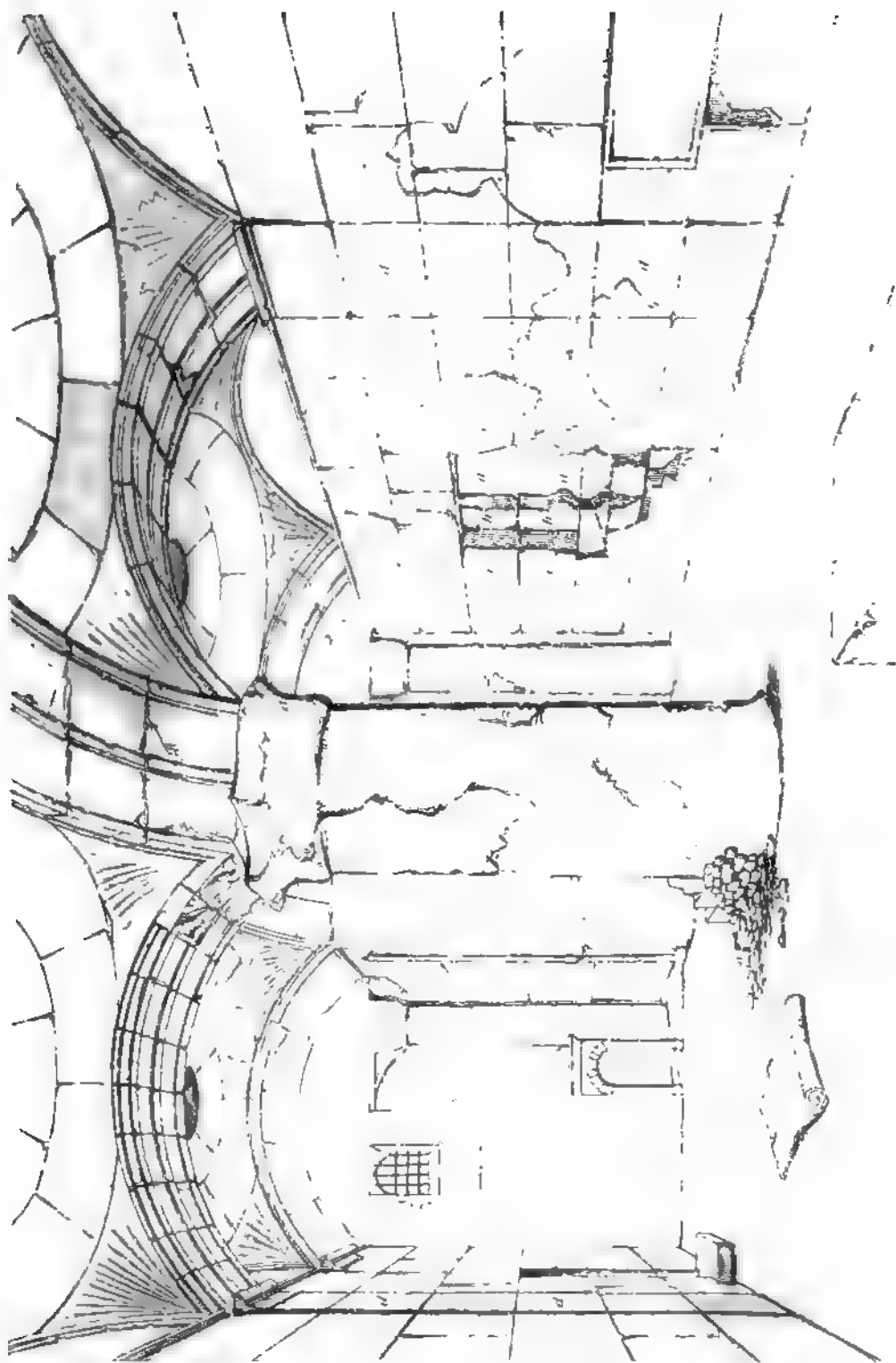
The little Bethlehem, on its hill top, just shows itself on the left hand, among these swells, bearing north-east from the point of sight ; on the extreme right, the summit of the Frank Mountains, (Herodium, Vol. I. p. 144,) is just discernible. A wide level occupies the mid-distance, on the skirts of which, and tending upwards, are the three pools ; and near to the lowest of them a dilapidated fort or enclosure, which perhaps should be called a caravanserai, affording shelter to cattle, to the wandering Bedouin, or to a Turkish guard. These Pools, the lining of which indicates a high antiquity, are of ample dimensions ; the lower and the larger pool measuring, according to Dr. Robinson, 582 feet in length, by 207 in width, at one end, and 148 at the other. The depth is estimated at 50 feet. Lord Nugent's measurements are (of the lower and largest pool) 589 feet by 169, and 47, depth to the water's edge. He thus describes the mode in which these tanks receive and transmit their accumulations. "The water escapes by passages which time has worn through the hill, and below the conduits intended for



9. 14. 216

THE POOLS OF SOLOMON.





it, into the gush beneath. Above the highest of the three, the water is supplied from a small chamber of masonry, a 'sealed fountain,' with a narrow entrance that has the appearance of having been closed with a stone door. Into this building rush several streams, conducted from springs that rise among the several surrounding hills, and flowing still in, probably, as much abundance as when the conduits were first made."—*Lands, Class. and Sac.*

Benjamin of Tudela, speaking of the country around Bethlehem, says, that it "abounds with rivulets, wells, and springs of water."

These artificial pools, thus receiving their supply of water from natural springs, send it forward through stone channels. The intention of them, therefore, obviously is, to head up and reserve this natural supply, so as that, when conveyed through its conduits to Jerusalem, it should be equable in quality, as well as free from the sediment which the three pools in succession would detain—for they range one above the other so as to subserve this purpose. A well-laid canal carried this supply in a tortuous course to the reservoirs of Jerusalem: it passed on the northern slope of the Hill of Evil Counsel, into the Valley of Hinnom, to its exit in the Upper Pool of Gihon. See Vol. I. p. lvii.

VAULT BENEATH EL AKSA.

It has already been stated (Vol. I. p. xiv. and onward) that the sketches made by Mr. Tipping of the vaults and passages beneath the Mosque, were executed under circumstances of imminent peril, even of life; or at least, with the momentary expectation, that every stroke of his pencil would be the last permitted to him on the spot. Nevertheless, in providing himself as he did, with accurate measurements of the vaults, and of the principal architectural elements which diversify them, he secured the means of afterwards reducing his sketches to perspective consistency and truth of outline. In the present instance, what might have been effected by such a revision of the sketch taken on the spot, is shown in the Outline Plate appended to the finished Plate. A point of sight has been assumed in the outline a few feet more advanced toward the window, than in the finished Plate; and also somewhat nearer to the side of the vault. The central column, the proportions of which are too slender (according to the measurements, p. xxiv), not only shows a greater bulk, as proportioned to its height; but, by difference of position relatively to the eye, it hides the extremity of the passage on the right hand.

To understand this view of the vault, the reader should turn to the Plates, Vol. I. which relate to the same; and first to the **PLAN OF THE VAULTS**, p. xxiv. The Plate now before us exhibits the objects seen from the position marked by the arrow D, and which is opposite to that marked

by the arrow C, shown in the Plate, p. lx. VAULTED HALL beneath El Akse; the same central column, seen on its opposite sides, occupying nearly the centre of each Plate, and in this last the position of the spectator in the former, is with his back to the low wall which intercepts the passage on the right hand.

The objects seen in this present Plate (from—D,) are also shown in the view of the VAULTED PASSAGE, where they are in miniature, at the remote extremity of the passage. We next turn to the upright subject—ENTRANCE TO THE VAULT, which shows the objects as seen from A, in the Plan. The light falling upon the central column is what is admitted from the latticed window in the Plate before us. The DOUBLE ARCHWAY, p. xxii. is exterior to the ENTRANCE, or rather, it supposes the spectator to have receded a few feet from A, far enough to bring the external surface of the wall within his view.

The attached Outline Plate shows some points that are important to be noted, as characteristic of these vaults and passages, and which are less clearly defined in the finished Plates. Midway between the pilasters, in the right-hand wall, the stones of an outer and of an inner lining have fallen from their places, thus bringing to light—deep seated, cyclopean masonry, marked—a a, manifestly belonging to the most remote age. This is overlaid by the coating—b b, whether it was placed where it is originally, or at a subsequent period. But then over this, is the thickness of masonry—c c, which constitutes the now visible wall throughout the vaults. And yet this later work exhibits also the labours of a still later era. In the lower ranges, and in places, the bevelled joinings, characteristic of the Jewish style of building, are still visible; but higher up, and throughout the general surface, an inch or two of this surface has been chiselled away, in order to give a little relief to the pilasters—d d d d.

Now these pilasters, very clearly, have a decorative meaning only, and are, architecturally, part and parcel of the arches and groined work of the roof. Then, again, the slender Corinthian columns, seen at the entrance, claim a later date than even the arches of the roof.

To trace, then, the architectural history of these vaults and passages retrogressively, we find, as the *most recent* portions of the whole, these columns, which are ante-Saracenic, and which may have belonged to the decorative restorations effected by Justinian. Next in order is the roof, with its arches and groins, and which seems to be a Roman work, whether of Hadrian's or of Herod's time, and to which period belongs the chiselling away of the more ancient masonry. Beyond this, is found *that* masonry which itself is a crust upon an interior and anterior work; and whether this (b b and a a) is of one era, or of two, is not certain. On the whole, it seems difficult, if indeed it be possible, to interpret these heterogeneous remains on any intelligible supposition—or by means of any series of suppositions, which does not allow to the *interior* structure an antiquity as remote as the history of the Jewish people will admit, or which it may demand.

GAZA.

GAZA, one of the most populous and important towns of Palestine, is also one of those concerning which no doubt can be entertained as to its history. Throughout the lapse of ages, from the remotest eras of the Hebrew nation onward to modern times, Gaza is the same. This place, at present containing a variable population of about fifteen thousand souls, is situated on low eminence, spreading its scattered buildings upon the plains around it. The town stands under the shelter of a range of hills toward the east, which run in an almost unbroken line, parallel to the coast, and at rather more than an hour's distance from it. This line of hills forms the background of the view seen in the Plate.

The soil of the narrow track of land between the hills to the east, and a line of sandy ridges toward the coast, is very fertile, and supplies, not the town merely, but the caravans which pass this way, with every variety of fruit, and in the highest perfection. An extensive olive grove fills the plain northward from the city ; while gardens and palm-trees adorn and enrich its suburbs. It offers however but few monuments of antiquity to gratify the curiosity of the European traveller ; the remains of its former structures meeting the eye only in some broken columns, lying about, or converted to ignoble purposes in the construction of the modern buildings.

Two mosques show their minarets in the view, which, however, does not embrace the more extensive quarter of the town. Everywhere the prickly pear luxuriates, and effectively hedges in many of the gardens.

POOL OF BETHESDA :

So denominated by those who have taken upon themselves the task of determining "the sacred sites" of the Holy City. The spacious excavation here represented runs along the northern wall of the Haram enclosure, from its eastern side, to a distance of about 360 feet. The spectator in this view is standing just within that northern prolongation of the Haram wall which extends from the corner of the quadrangle to St. Stephen's Gate ; he is, therefore, looking in a direction *nearly* due west ; or toward the Latin Convent. In the view of the NORTH-EAST CORNER, the eye crosses the ground whence *this* view was taken ; and *this* connects itself also, as to proximity, with the portion of the wall shown in that Plate. This fosse measures 130 feet in width ; its depth, beneath the general level of the surface, and if measured down to the average level of the bottom, irregularly filled as it is with rubbish—the accumulation of ages, is about 75 feet.

There is a drainage of water at the bottom, surrounded with a growth of the prickly pear, and with some garden produce. A lining of stone, covered with plaster, on the walls, indicates that the cavity was in fact a reservoir; and not improbably it supplied the adjoining Fort Antonia. The wall on the right hand shows in parts the ancient masonry found throughout in the substructures of the Haram wall. The lofty archways, seen at the extremity, are assumed by the monks to be two of the "Five Porches" which belonged to the "Pool."

This is one of those spots in the Holy City where an extensive and leisurely exploration, carried on under the eye and control of English scholars, might probably reward cost and labour. There is little risk in advancing the conjecture that beneath the surface-rubbish, which has been accumulating during centuries, and which, probably, has never been disturbed, the massive materials that were dislodged by the Roman crow-bar, after the taking of the City, still lie, waiting their time. Among these stones, thrown from their places, would almost certainly be found arms, accoutrements, and coins—Jewish and Roman, the bringing to light of which might subserve purposes more important than that of gratifying antiquarian curiosity.

TIBERIAS, AND THE LAKE.

THE "Sea of Galilee," which by its sacred associations so much kindles the enthusiasm of the Christian traveller, has too often—almost always, been presented to the eye of those who do not travel, in a manner which a better and more truthful feeling must condemn. This inland water is not a Westmoreland lake; nor is it a Swiss, nor an Italian lake. In an instance such as this, what we want is not picturesque effect; but the bare truth of representation. The artist's best skill is shown in forgetting his skill—his skill in *making up* effects—and in giving us the actual forms and aspect of the spot. To convey to the mind the drear and rugged features, and the dead and sombre hues of this landscape, with the *not* Alpine contour of its boundary heights, should be his aim. The sublimity of this scene is that which it derives from the evangelic record:—its beauty, in the eye of the Christian traveller, is that with which his own profound emotions invest it. The unadorned features of the Sea of Tiberias are, it is believed, faithfully presented in the Plates—Vol. I. MAGDALA—THE HOT BATHS OF TIBERIAS—TARICHÆA—REMAINS OF A THEATRE, and in the Plate now before us.

The point of view, in this instance, is from a spot about a mile distant from the town, bearing nearly south from it, and the direction of the eye is N. W. by N., that is to say, toward the snowy heights of Jebel esh Sheikh—

Mount Hermon—which here rise over the hills surrounding the lake, a little to the right of the centre of the view. This lofty range is seen at the direct distance of nearly fifty miles. The dark sweep of hills to the right is the eastern wall of this crater ; and which is much more rugged and barren than the western side. Through the gorge, marked by the slope on which the light falls, the Jordan enters the lake. Among the slopes to the left, are the supposed sites of Magdala, and Capernaum ; and on the extreme left is Safed. It is rather less than two-thirds of the length of the lake, or about nine miles, that is seen in this view.

A solitary sail catches the eye upon this expanse, which, in the times of the Gospel history, was crowded with fishing vessels, and sometimes ruffled by the thousand oars of a Roman fleet.

The town of Tiberias, desolate as it had long been, now exhibits the added desolations that were caused by the earthquake of 1832. Its wall, however, still stands. It contains a synagogue, a Christian church, and a mosque, and affords such accommodation to the traveller as he may be willing to accept, at the cost of nights of torture, to be endured within the realm of the “king of the fleas.”

TRIPOLI AND CASTLE.

TRIPOLI, touching near upon the northern border of the land given to the Israelitish people, is one of those places on the Syrian coast which has held its notoriety in history, continuously, from the earliest historic period, down to modern times. Three cities, or boroughs—as its name indicates, adjoined each other in ancient times ;—the three probably commanded by the hill which is presented in this view, and the position of which would give its occupants entire military sway over the surrounding towns and country. Its maritime advantages (at least in the present state of the coast) are not great ; but they are sufficient to render it a centre of some foreign trade. The Castle and town stand back from the sea, about a mile. The elevation, whence this view was taken, commands a reach of the coast southward as far as to the headland of Beyroot ; and toward the left, the ranges of Lebanon—a fair prospect always, and whencesoever seen.

THE JEWS' PLACE OF WAILING.

By comparing several Plates given in the course of this work, and which have already been described, the reader will understand what is the relative position of the area, represented in *this* Plate, and where the Jew of modern

times has been permitted to buy, from year to year, a licence to moisten with his tears the stones of the "Beautiful House" of his ancestors.

The Plate first to be referred to for the purpose of this topographic explication, is the outline—**EL AKSA**, and the **WALL** from the Brow of Zion, Vol. I. p. xx.; in which the southern extremity of the Haram wall, on its western side, confronts the eye; and in which the spring-stones are seen in their general position. Low Turkish buildings abut upon the wall on the left hand. These buildings are seen in front, and the same wall in perspective in the finished Plate—**REMAINS OF AN ARCH**, springing from the Haram wall (west): a front view of which is shown in the outline Plate—**ELEVATION OF THE WALL AND SPRING-STONES**, p. xxv. The Jews' "Place of Wailing," is a narrow paved court, commencing a few paces on from the rear of the Turkish buildings, just above mentioned, and three times that distance south of the **PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE**, already shown. The spire seen surmounting the wall in *that* Plate, here shows itself over the angle of the wall, and in the direction of sight. In some recent representations an attempt has been made, as is very usual, to invest this spot with the "sublime" in pictorial effect. Let it be enough to show it *as it is*, invested with the true sublimity which attaches to it when regarded in its simple historic significance.

It should be noticed, that the pavement of this area—the Place of Wailing—is on a level many feet below that of the interior plateau of the Haram. The first, second, and third ranges of stones, counting upwards, as seen in this view, indicate the level to which they belong, as compared with the Plates, Vol. I. which exhibit the southern extremity of this same western wall; and in the Outline it is seen that the Mosque, El Aksa, stands on higher ground, considerably. This becomes evident in referring to the view of the **DOUBLE ARCH**, p. xxii., showing the entrance to the vaults beneath the mosque; this entrance being on a level with the Spring-Stones; and between the pavement of the outer vault, and the general surface of the Haram courts, there intervene two flights of steps—one at the entrance, as here seen, and one at the further extremity; as well as the height of the vault, which is about thirty-five feet. A very careful examination of the surface of the stones, and of the joinings, would be necessary in order to determine, with any certainty, the level beneath which the Cyclopean masonry may be regarded as having been unmoved "throughout all time," and above which it may be thought that the original materials have been replaced in later times. Such a line—higher and lower at different places, would, on the spot now before us, be drawn through the joint dividing the fourth from the fifth range of stones; some portions of this fifth range seeming to belong to the ancient masonry. On this supposition, which is confirmed, as we have seen, by examination of the eastern and southern Haram walls, the overthrow and the upturning effected by the Roman legions, at the command of Titus, reached down some way below *the visible level of the Temple buildings*, and of its surrounding courts and

porches. It is true, therefore, that the wailing Jew, as he stands moistening these stones with his tears, touches, with his trembling and clammy hand, the very work of his remote ancestors :—the present general level of the surface around the Haram brings the modern Jew exactly upon the range which *historically belongs to him* ; while it keeps him far *beneath* that level which exhibits and attests the fulfilment of their Messiah's prediction.

CONJECTURAL VIEW OF THE VIADUCT, AS IN THE TIME OF HEROD.

IN a lengthened note, descriptive and explanatory (Vol. I. pp. xxv.—xxix.) of the Plate representing THE REMAINS OF AN ARCH, the probable position and use of the “Bridge,” mentioned by Josephus, has been shown. It has there also been stated, as probable in the highest degree which stops short of direct demonstration, that the spring-stones exhibited in that Plate, are the actual commencements of the first of these arches, which must have given support to the viaduct. In offering to the reader's notice this conjectural Plate, nothing more is intended than to show—on the supposition that the ancient bridge *did* bestride the Tyropœon at this spot—how it would connect the courts of the Temple with the opposite slope of Zion. In this instance no ambitious attempt has been made to embody such conceptions as might easily be formed of the architecture of this bridge. A general idea only of the aspect which it might present, as seen from the turn of the valley, is aimed at. Beyond and above the viaduct, the heights of Acra and Bezetha are dimly indicated. On the left hand, and in shadow, as when the sun is declining, is the eastern declivity of Zion ; and at the point where the viaduct abuts upon this slope, would run the covered colonnade and terrace, or Xystus, whence Agrippa harangued the Jews during the siege, as they crowded the opposite colonnades and roofs of the Temple. At present the deep valley which these arches span, is filled with the materials of the Temple and city—consolidated in the lapse of ages by the soil and rubbish that has been washed on to the surface, and which has sunk into it from year to year. Here again is a spot where explorations would most surely yield a rich product of Jewish and Roman antiquities.

MASADA.

THREE views of this remarkable spot—a spot never before pictorially represented, are now presented to the reader. We first turn to the Plate, Vol. I. p. 126, MASADA, THE DEAD SEA, AND THE MOUNTAINS OF MOAB.

In this view the direction of sight is nearly due east, and the spectator occupies a crag of the lofty ridge, west of the Dead Sea, which, at this level, branches off toward the desert. The traveller, therefore, has now reached the rim of that vast crater, the depths of which—the awful bituminous abyss—are concealed by the dense waters of this sea. Opposite to him are the Mountains of Moab—a more southerly part of the range which is seen from the summit of Olivet. Beneath this range, and spreading itself out into the sea, far toward the western shore, is a remarkable peninsula of low level, covered, for the most part, with a saline incrustation, as if with snow. On this, that is to say the western side of the sea, and at the distance of about seven miles from the heights on which the spectator stands, the precipitous Masada rises from near the margin of the sea. Between this rock and the foreground, there stretches out, in hideous confusion, the jagged ridges, the feet of which, following the general declivity, reach the sea.

The Plate next to be referred to is the one that appeared in the Prospectus, and which is here brought into its place. The direction of sight in this view is north-east by east. A portion therefore of the sea, with the mountains beyond, is seen on the right hand; and on the left in the extreme distance, the summits of the same range.

A wintry torrent—Wady Senein, finds its way through the ravine in front of the hill, and between it and the precipices, among which the spectator stands. A less considerable watercourse is seen on the left hand, winding its way through the clefts of the rocks, and delivering its volume, (during the rainy season) at a leap, to join itself with the larger stream in the depth below.

Upon a somewhat level space to the left of the cleft, just mentioned, there occur indications of military works, in a sort of gridiron figure. Indications still more distinct are found in two other places; one on the level near the shore, and another on the opposite side of the hill, and at a spot just beyond the escarped rocks, to the left, in this Plate. Both travellers in this instance—Mr. Tipping and his companion Mr. Wolcott, thought themselves warranted in regarding these remains as marking the sites of the encampments of the Roman legions under Flavius Silva. In exhibiting the remarkable features of this hill, pains have been taken to show, not merely its picturesque aspect, but geologically its structure—the red limestone resting upon the chalk. The front, represented in this Plate, is the most precipitous of the three, if not the loftiest.

We now turn to the large Plate—MASADA: North Front. The direction of sight is here south-east. The portion of the sea which appears on the left hand, is the extreme recess or bay, formed by the promontory already mentioned. The distant mountains, therefore, are those of Gebal.

Near to the sharp summit of the hill, as seen in this view, there are traces of what may be regarded as the defences which the desperate company under Eleazar either availed themselves of, or constructed, with the hope of maintaining their position against the Roman legions.

In its bearing upon the History of THE JEWISH WAR, and upon the credit due to Josephus, a very high importance must be allowed to attach to the subject now before us ; nor should it be thought strange if a traveller, whose errand in Palestine was to illustrate, by his pencil, the writings of the Jewish historian, should congratulate himself, or should be warmly congratulated by his friends, when he finds himself the first traveller in modern times who, at leisure, has examined so signal a spot ; and the first, certainly, to lay them pictorially before the world.

The charge of “exaggeration,” especially in what relates to magnitude, has been more often made than substantiated, as the besetting sin of Josephus. He has no doubt erred on this side, in some few instances ; but in others, where the same imputation has been thrown upon him, that better acquaintance with Palestine which modern researches have put within our reach, has served to restore his credit as a well-informed and an exact reporter of topographic facts. We have a remarkable instance of this sort now before us.

The terrific catastrophe of the Jewish War—or its last awful suicidal slaughter—was transacted, as related by our author, upon the summit of a rocky pile, situated on the western shore of the Asphaltic lake. This almost inaccessible height had been rendered, as it was thought, impregnable by Herod : who had not only fortified, but had furnished it also, at a vast cost, as a last retreat for himself, should the turbulence of the Jewish people, or rather his own ferocious treatment of them, drive him, like the hunted tiger, to his lair. Josephus describes this steep with unusual particularity, and it will be found that his description of it is well sustained by that to which we now invite the reader’s attention.

The surrounding region is the most wildly rugged imaginable, and has at all times been the home and haunt of the most ruthless of the Bedouin tribes, who thence have sallied forth to wage war upon whoever was not too strong for them. Dr. Robinson, as it seems, was the first of modern travellers to indicate, or conjecturally to identify, this eminence as the “Masada” of Josephus ; but he did not visit it. From his position at Ain Jeddy, and at the distance of fourteen miles, he descried it with his glass : inviting toward it the attention of future travellers. *Bib. Res.* vol. ii. p. 240.

It was this intimation that led Mr. Tipping to deviate from the ordinary route of travellers visiting the Dead Sea ; and, in fact, to make an excursion from Jerusalem for the express purpose of discovering, exploring, and delineating this spot. In company with Mr. Wolcott, the American missionary, he set out, March 7th, 1842, and both employed themselves diligently, during more than a week, in accomplishing the object of their journey. Mr. Tipping’s account of this exploration will best bring the scene before the mind of the reader ; he says :—

“At 10.15 we reached the Wady Seyâl, at the line between the last two divisions, where it breaks down into a magnificent chasm. Ascending its southern bank, we came in three-quarters of an hour to the brow of a hill, from which we had our first view of Sebbeh, bearing east, still two

miles distant. Descending the steep declivity by a zigzag path, and crossing slopes of a burnt aspect, we reached about noon the western base of the Rock of Sebbeh, where we are now encamped. The declivity which we descended introduced us to scenery of which the pass of Ain Jedy will give you a fair idea. Rocky precipices of a rich reddish-brown colour surrounded us ; and before us, across a scorched and desolate tract, were the cliff of Sebbeh with its ruins ; the adjacent heights with rugged defiles between, and the Dead Sea lying motionless in its bed beneath. The aspect of the whole was that of a lonely and stern grandeur. The Rock of Sebbeh is opposite to the peninsula, and is itself separated from the water's edge by a shoal or sand-bank, two or three miles in width, from north to south. This extends out, on the northern side of the cliff, which projects beyond the mountain range. The mountains on the south are in a line with it, and of the same height, and it is separated from them by the deep and precipitous Wady Sinein. On the west, a smaller wady separates it from more moderate hills, above which it rises. Its insulation is thus complete. We encamped at the western base ; and after resting a little made the ascent from the same side, and accomplished it without difficulty, using occasionally both hands and feet, and proceeding at the steepest point on an embankment which remains. This is the only spot where the rock can now be climbed ; the pass on the east, described by Josephus, seems to have been swept away. The language of that historian respecting the loftiness of the site is not very extravagant. It requires firm nerves to stand upon the verge of its steepest sides, and look directly down. The depth at these points cannot be less than a thousand feet, and we thought it more. The highest points of the rock are on the north, and the south-west ; the ground sloping in a gentle wady towards the south-east corner. The whole area we estimated at three-quarters of a mile in length, from north to south, and a third of a mile in breadth. There are no traces of vegetation, except in the bottoms of some of the open cisterns. On approaching the rock from the west, the 'white promontory,' as Josephus appropriately calls it, is seen on this side near the northern end. This is the point where the siege was pressed and carried ; and here we ascended. Both before and after the ascent we observed the 'wall built round about the entire top of the hill by king Herod ;' all the lower part of which remains. Its colour was the same dark red as the rock, though it is said to have been 'composed of white stone ;' but on breaking the stone, it appeared that it was naturally whitish, and had been burnt brown by the sun. In the existing foundations we could trace only the general outlines of the structures which Josephus describes. The peculiar form of some, composed of long parallel rooms, indicated that they had been store-houses or barracks, rather than private dwellings. The architecture, both of the wall and of the buildings, was of one kind, consisting of rough stones quarried probably on the summit, laid loosely together, and the interstices filled in with small pieces of stone. It had the appearance of cobbled work. We thought, at first, it could hardly

be the work of Herod ; but there can be no doubt that it is so. The stone is of the most durable kind, and there are no traces of more ancient work ; and these would be almost the only materials accessible in such a spot. Near the head of the ascent is a modern ruin, consisting chiefly of a gateway of square hewn stones, with a pointed arch. We saw no other architecture which we thought to be of the same age. Near this is a small building with a circular recess in the eastern wall of its principal room. Forty or fifty feet below the northern summit are the foundations of a round tower, to which we did not attempt to descend. Near by are windows cut in the rock, with their sides whitened, probably belonging to some large cistern now covered up. We found a cistern excavated in the south-west corner of the rock, with similar windows in its southern end at the top, and with a descent to a doorway in the top of its northern end, from which a flight of steps descends into the cistern itself. It is nearly fifty feet deep, a hundred long, and forty broad ; and its walls are still covered with a white cement, which served us for an album. The other cisterns that we saw were not large ; and some of them were still covered over with small round arches. Fragments of pottery lay scattered on the surface of the rock. But the relic which perhaps interested us the most, was without the rock, on the ground below. Josephus says, that the Roman general 'built a wall quite around the entire fortress.' As we stood on the summit of the rock, we could trace every part of that wall, carried along the low ground, and, wherever it met a precipice, commencing again on the high summit above ; thus making the entire circuit of the place. Connected with it, at intervals, were the walls of the Roman camps, built as described by Josephus in his chapter on the Roman armies and camps. The principal camps were opposite the north-west and south-east corners ; the former being the spot where Josephus places that of the Roman general. The outline of the works, as seen from the heights above, is as complete as if they had been but recently abandoned. We afterwards examined the wall in places ; and found it six feet broad, and built like the walls above, but more rudely. It had of course crumbled, and was probably never high. It brought the siege before us with an air of reality ; and recalled to our minds, as we looked upon it, the awful immolation which had taken place on the spot where we stood. It was also a stupendous illustration of the Roman perseverance that subdued the world, which could sit down so deliberately, in such a desert, and commence a siege with such a work ; and, I may add, which could scale such a fortress. We found among the rocks below a round stone, which had probably been hurled from a catapult. We launched, by way of diversion, some of the large stones from the original wall towards the Dead Sea ; none of which reached the Roman lines, half a mile or more distant ; though some of them stopped not far short, making the most stupendous bounds. I was desirous of making the circuit of the rock. The declivity which we had descended in reaching it left us on an offset of the mountain, still several hundred feet above the

sea. The Wady which runs on the west of the cliff, is on this elevation. But at the extremities of the rock, the ground suddenly breaks down into deep fissures, and soon reaches the lower level. I followed the above Wady southwards ; and found that the cleft which forms the southern boundary of the rock, was a perpendicular descent from it. The south-west corner of the rock forms a kind of bastion, opposite to which the side of the Wady is shelving. Descending here carefully, I reached the bottom, walled in on three sides by rocky ramparts, their sombre craggy peaks frowning above, while torn and disjointed masses from them strewed the bed of the valley. I followed this chasm, descending steeply east by north, and in an hour from leaving the tent had not reached the east side of the rock ; when I was arrested by the shouts of our Arabs on the cliff behind me, calling and beckoning to me to return. The reason I soon discovered in the appearance of three wild Bedawin with clubs, whom they had noticed, who accosted me with a demand for a bakhshish ; which however they showed no disposition to enforce. This of course put an end to further observations in that quarter—fortunately, perhaps, as in any event the circuit would have been longer and more fatiguing than I had contemplated. It was one of the most interesting circumstances connected with Sebbeh, that it commanded a complete view of the Dead Sea, which lay beneath us in its length and breadth. We spread the map before us ; and were struck with its general accuracy. The peninsula appears to the eye as a flat sand-bank, in striking contrast with the bold mountains which tower above it. Though furrowed by the waters, it is still a plain. We remained at Sebbeh until March 15th ; our Arabs having been kept contented the last day by a feast upon a Beden, shot on the top of the rock. Our own supplies were getting low. We had been informed that there was water near ; but could obtain it only from the collections which the recent rains had left in the hollows of the rocks ; confirming the remark of Josephus, that water as well as food was brought hither to the Roman army from a distance.”

This remarkable spot, therefore, as thus described and delineated, may now with advantage be thought of as bearing out those statements and those descriptions of Masada which we find in THE JEWISH WAR. Confidently it may be affirmed that in few instances where topographical identity is in question, have modern researches better sustained the testimony of an ancient writer than they do in this instance. It is manifest that Josephus must personally, and at leisure, have made himself acquainted with this spot :—he had visited it—whether previously to the fall of his country, or afterwards ; and in this case, as in others which have come before us, he proves himself to have been conversant with the facts he has to do with—observant of details, and quite as trustworthy in his reports of them as ancient writers generally are.

Josephus was not familiar, as modern travellers are, with the vastness of Alpine scenery, and therefore he was not prepared to use measured terms in speaking of heights and depths, such as those of Palestine. Those who, on their way to Palestine, sojourn in Switzerland, have already spent their

stock of wonder, and have quite exhausted their stores of hyperbolic phrases. But Josephus, when he speaks of chasms on either hand that inspire terror in the boldest minds, and of "depths which the eye cannot measure," speaks as one does who has been conversant only with precipices of a thousand or of twelve hundred feet; nor is it equitable, when he does so, to accuse him of indulging a habit of culpable exaggeration. Masada and its remains must be allowed to corroborate, in a very remarkable manner, the averments of the author of the "Wars of the Jews."

POOL OF THE VIRGIN.

THIS well, or pool, occurs upon the rocky slope of Ophel, at the distance of about 300 yards from the south side of the Haram, and nearly opposite the middle point of the wall. This excavation, and the structures attaching to it, indicate a remote antiquity. What is presented in this plate is the platform, or stone-paved stage, which is reached after descending sixteen steps from the external entrance. The female figure, with her pitcher, is seated on the edge of a flight of ten steps leading to the surface of the water.

The remarkable fact has already been adverted to, Vol. I. p. lvii., that Jerusalem, situated as it is upon an elevated mountainous tract, almost destitute of natural springs, has nevertheless, at all times, enjoyed an ample and never-failing supply of water. The known sources of this supply have also been named; and the supposition has been advanced that, in accordance with a traditionary belief, a copious natural spring rises deep within the temple enclosure. Notwithstanding its improbability, this supposition has acquired support from explorations made not long ago by Mr. Wolcott on the one side of the Haram, and by him, Dr. Robinson, and Mr. Tipping on the other.

The Kedron is a winter torrent only; the bed of the stream being entirely dry except during, and for a short time after, the rainy season. It is not from *this* source, therefore, that any perpetual supply can be obtained. There is no doubt that deep-seated channels convey water from the Gihon Pools into the reservoirs of the Haram, which also would receive the surface water of that extensive area. A natural spring may further augment these gatherings, which, as it seems, have at all times exceeded the use and waste—large as it must have been, first of the Jewish, and since of the Mohammedan ceremonial. This surplus finds its way through a tunnel, extending from the Haram, in a direction parallel to the Kedron, but considerably above the level of its bed. It first emerges in the well or cistern, a view of which we have now before us—the water in which, from whatever source it comes, ebbs and flows, at irregular periods, twice or thrice in the twenty-four hours. From this cistern, as it seems, the tunnel is continued along the

sloping ridge of Ophel, and again comes to light in the Pool of Siloam, whence again, probably, it goes on to the junction of the two valleys, where it enters the well of Job. Although a difference of quality has been noted, as distinguishing the water of the latter well from that of the two above it, this may sufficiently be accounted for by the fact that this lowest reservoir receives the drainage from the two valleys, in addition to that which overflows into it from those upper sources. This lower neighbourhood is beautified by gardens of great luxuriance, the irrigation of which exhausts, probably, the waters which might otherwise fill a channel, in the valley lower down.

STONE AT BAALBEC.

THE huge mass which occupies the foreground in this Outline Plate, has been examined and mentioned by most of those who have visited Baalbec. In its dimensions it corresponds with several of the foundation stones of the Temple of the Sun, being sixty-eight (or nine) feet in length, thirteen in depth, and eighteen in breadth. The quarry where it lies is more than a mile distant from the principal ruins; and without doubt it was destined to take its place among the substructures where its fellows are now found. "By what machinery," asks Lord Nugent, "they were placed on this level, by what machinery moved there, up an inclined plane of masonry which it is supposed was built in front of the range for this operation, and afterwards removed,—or how they were brought from the quarry, more than a mile off, where a fourth, of the size of the largest of the three, still lies hewn ready for removal;—how the strain of such powers could be applied so equally as to deal with such masses of a kind of coarse large-grained marble without breaking them—these are mysteries which mechanical science may perhaps arrive at the mode of solving, but all who cannot undertake very high questions indeed of this sort must be content with wondering at."—*Lands &c.* ch. ix.

ANATHOTH.

THE name Anata, belonging to a spot about five miles from Jerusalem, on the northern route, has seemed to identify it with the Anathoth of Scripture—the birth-place of Jeremiah. The direction of sight in this view is toward the east; and the hills which, with so uniform an outline, skirt the distance, are those which wall in the valley of the Jordan on its left bank, a glimpse of which is obtained from the ridge whence this view was taken. The buildings in the mid-distance exhibit traces of ancient masonry, of a substantial kind. The Arab village clustered around these structures is poor and mean.

NOTE RELATIVE TO MAPS OF GALILEE.

AT an early period of his engagement in this work, the Editor gave much attention to the preparation of a Map of Galilee, adapted to the LIFE OF JOSEPHUS, and which should exhibit every particle of the knowledge that may now be collected concerning the geographical position of the places therein named, and their identity with spots on the modern map: in fact, a small map, prepared with this intention, had actually been engraved. It was however manifest that a map, faithfully confining itself to what is *known*, and as faithfully putting on one side whatever is matter only of surmise or conjecture, would make a very meagre appearance. It is quite true that maps enough of Palestine are to be met with, elaborately and learnedly prepared, and admirably executed, which are crowded with names—ancient as well as modern. But let the question be put—To how many of these names of ancient cities, towns, and villages, has the position they severally occupy been assigned on any ground of positive evidence whatever? As an example, let us take the range of country, about twenty miles wide, and fifty in length, north and south, of which the Lake of Tiberias forms the central feature. It is just this district, within which Josephus, as governor of Galilee, acted the part, the details of which are given in his autobiography:—and which, in the Apostolic age, and until after the destruction of the Jewish polity, was densely peopled, and crowded with cities, towns, and villages.

Now it is a matter of course that the ancient names of the natural features of the country—its mountains, its waters, rivers, and streams, should be authentically known; and they *are* known, with very few exceptions. The features of the country—geologically—being liable to little if any change, the map-maker finds no difficulty as to all such permanent objects, while inserting the ancient, beneath their modern names. And then again, in relation to a country so thoroughly known, and so copiously described by ancient authors, as was Syria, little, if any ambiguity can attach to the task of locating the *district names*, or in tracing the boundaries either of Roman provinces, or of native governments. But it is quite otherwise as to the names of cities and towns, and of particular spots. Josephus, in his narrative of his government of Galilee, introduces about forty such names: that is to say, places which must find a locality *somewhere* within the limits above-mentioned, around the Lake of Tiberias. Of this forty, not more than ten can be assigned to their spots on a modern map, on grounds of evidence—conclusive, or such as might be accepted as *sufficient*. As to the thirty—the *incognita*, a probable surmise might dispose of a few—perhaps of five or six. The position of the remainder is absolutely unknown. It is true, they all make their appearance in modern maps of the “*Palestina Antiqua*,” but it may well be questioned if any useful purpose whatever

is subserved by such insertions ; or whether, on the contrary, they are not of ill consequence in more ways than one. Maps thus prepared, *ad libitum*, lead the student of ancient history astray, and do him a gratuitous injury.

Let a single instance be taken, and it is one which well serves to bear up the allegations now advanced. Every reader of the *WAR* naturally turns to the map he may have at hand to find this—"Jotapata"—a place so much signalized by the courage and pertinacity of the Jews, under the command of the historian, in defending it against all the besieging apparatus of the Roman art of war, and against all the skill and valour of the commander and his soldiers. Where was this Jotapata—a place marked too by its natural features, one would think, beyond reach of doubt ? In the less recent maps of Palestine "Jotapata" duly appears *whereabouts* it should come. In some of the more recent maps an endeavour has been made to approximate to the probable site, on some grounds of inferential reasoning—but yet in obvious disregard of those *physical* indications which should be determinative in an instance of this sort. A sounder discretion has induced Dr. Robinson to exclude this name—important as it is—from the map that accompanies his *Biblical Researches*, and he has taken the same course as to many other names which copiously decorate ordinary maps. Mr. Tipping, during his stay in the neighbourhood of the Galilean lake, did not fail to make search for a spot which, it might have been imagined, an adventurous and intelligent traveller would very probably succeed in discovering. Nevertheless, all such endeavours proved fruitless.

And if neither the learned at home, nor intelligent travellers, have been able to lay down so remarkable a spot on our maps—it is not wonderful that, as to less remarkable places, the position hitherto assigned them is, for the most part, unsustained by any species or shadow of evidence. What satisfaction, then, can result from an endeavour to *make up* a map, professedly intended to elucidate the statements of an ancient writer, when, in fact, no means—or no *authentic* means are at present available for advancing a single step beyond what every one has at hand in every atlas ? A time may come, and the Editor has not hesitated to express his confident belief that it will come, and is not very remote, when Palestine, coming under European control, and its ravines and caves having been cleared of the lurking Bedoueen, shall be so explored, as that, by direct or indirect evidence, the uncertainties referred to in this note shall—most of them—be removed, and thus preparation made for constructing an authentic map of the "Palestina Antiqua."

NOTE RELATIVE TO THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM.

DIFFICULTIES of a kind differing somewhat from those just above mentioned, attach to the task of constructing a plan of the Ancient Jerusalem—Jerusalem such as it was at the time of its overthrow by the Romans.

In this instance, as in the preceding, the Editor had made some progress in effecting what seems a desirable accompaniment to the JEWISH WAR—namely a Plan of Ancient Jerusalem; and a plate was in hand intended to be attached to the present work.

Among those sites which have been rendered memorable by the events of a distant age, few, if indeed there be any, are more distinctly marked out by the peculiarity of natural feature, than is that of Jerusalem; and assuredly none have claims comparable to its own upon the regard and curiosity of mankind. With the abundant and various aids now in our hands for bringing under the eye the abruptly broken surface of the area occupied by the modern city and its suburbs, and with the copious evidence that is to be gathered—from the canonical books—the Rabbinical literature—the scattered notices found in the Greek and Roman writers, and especially from those formal and particular descriptions of his native city which Josephus supplies—with these multifarious aids in hand it might be supposed, that to lay down upon a plan of *modern* Jerusalem a plan of the *ancient* Jerusalem, could be a work of little or no difficulty, and that at least its principal artificial confines or conterminations could furnish no matter for controversy.

And it is so to a certain extent: all ambiguity, surely, is excluded as to the general position and boundaries of the ancient city—1st, by the winding course of the precipitous ravine through which the Kedron runs, when it does run;—2d, by the equally determinate track of the more gentle valley, westward;—3d, by the confluence of the drainage of both valleys south of the city;—4th, by the not-to-be-mistaken relation of the summit of the Mount of Olives to what is assumed as the site of the temple and city. Then further—as to those extant structures which peremptorily claim for themselves a high antiquity, they so occur, and they are of such proportions, and have such characteristics, as consist entirely with the inferences we draw from the *natural* features of the site, and with the testimonies and descriptions of ancient authors—Josephus especially. These unquestionable remains are—1st, the existing channels, conduits, and reservoirs, connected with the intermittent stream which runs parallel with the course of the Kedron, on a higher level than its bottom;—2d, the Upper and Lower Pools, west of the city, with the aqueducts attaching to them;—3d, the massive substructures of the Haram enclosure, which, on three sides, if not on the fourth, are such as almost to exclude the possibility

of our mistaking altogether the site of the ancient temple ;—4th, the sub-structures of the Citadel, assumed to be the Hippicus of Herod's time ;—5th, those at, and about, the Damascus Gate, which are as unambiguous and determinative as any elsewhere occurring ;—6th, and finally, those suburban monuments and sepulchral remains which, on sure grounds of architectural analogy, are attributed to an age *not later* than that of the destruction of the city.

We thus seem to be fenced, on all sides, against material error in respect of the space upon, and within which, the ancient city must have housed its dense population, and have given lodgement, once in every year, to the congregated myriads of the Jewish race.

Thus far, all seems to be clear ; nevertheless, we have as yet ascertained only the preliminaries necessary for laying down our plan of the ancient Jerusalem. Within what compass the city generally must have stood, we cannot doubt, but we have now to lay down the course of the walls with which, successively, it was hedged in, and to plant the gates and towers, and to give position to its most noted public buildings : our part is *now* to “go round about Jerusalem—to mark *well* her bulwarks, and to *consider* her palaces.” And this survey must so be made as shall give harmony and consistency, as well to the formal statements of Josephus, as to his many incidental allusions to gates, towers, palaces, and sepulchral monuments ; and these consistencies must again consist with other extant descriptions and statements, classical and rabbinical. Now, notwithstanding some few points, undetermined, or ambiguous, in the topographical statements of Josephus, it might not have been regarded as a hopeless task to construct such a plan of the ancient city as should well, if not perfectly, satisfy all requirements therewith connected, and should afford great aid to the reader of Josephus, in following his narrative of the steps of the Roman legions throughout the weeks of that fatal summer which saw the Holy City a heap of ruins.

Nevertheless, such a task—so useful if achieved in a manner that could be satisfactory to all readers of the JEWISH WAR, seems, at the present moment, absolutely an impracticable undertaking : strange that it should be so ! But no one who is conversant with modern travels in Palestine, or with recent controversies relating to Jerusalem, can need to be informed whence this difficulty springs. The first step after the adjustment of the preliminaries above mentioned, in constructing a plan of an ancient and walled town, must be to lay down the walls. Every narrative of military operations necessarily supposes, for a good understanding of it, a clear apprehension of the track of the city bulwarks, and of the position of the towers and gates attaching to them. This is especially indispensable when a city was encircled, partially or entirely, by concentric lines of wall. The narrative of a protracted siege is perplexing in an extreme degree if the relative position of such lines of defence is unknown. But the ancient Jerusalem was embraced or subdivided by *three* such lines of defence, and

several of the structures referred to, again and again, in the narrative of the siege, abutted upon one or another of these walls. What then was their track? and what the areas they severally enclosed? As to two or three of the points of commencement, and two or three angular projections, there seems to be little room for controversy. But beyond, or rather *within*, these fixed points, every thing is strenuously debated, even up to the present moment.

An editor of the JEWISH WAR wishing, in all sincerity, to afford the reader the desirable aid of a "Plan of Ancient Jerusalem," must, therefore, in attempting so to do, take position upon a battle-field; and he must prepare himself to defend, by all available means, every inch of that position; he must, in fact, make himself a party in an eager controversy, which has enlisted, and which continues to enlist, feelings and prepossessions of no ordinary depth and intensity. An editor so placed, if he advances, must, by a sad necessity, either grievously assail the impassioned convictions of one class of readers, or utterly shock the reason of another class. It does not appear that, on this ground, at present, any middle course is open to our choice. Josephus cannot be fully understood until a controversy, springing out of the events of an obscure intermediate age, has reached some conclusion.

Some conclusion! nor ought such a result to be thought of as improbable. Once and again in the course of the Notes upon the Plates, the Editor has expressed a belief that, in the almost inevitable progress of European affairs, Palestine must come under the wing of one of the great European states—that this land will receive, ere long, a Christian and civilized government—will have a police—will afford a secure and tranquil liberty of travel and of residence—a liberty of wandering and of strolling about, even as one does in the highlands of Scotland, or in the valleys of Switzerland—that it will give leisurely opportunity to dig and to trench, to upturn and to excavate. When such a time comes, or within a period of five years after it has come, Palestine—a region not more extensive than any three of our adjoining English counties—will have opened its long-hidden secrets to antiquarian eyes:—its few square miles of soil, teeming with historic materials, will have been, if not *sifted*, yet turned over, or pierced here and there, and especially the lowest basements of the Holy City will have been moved from their places, or sufficiently exposed to view.

Such a time will not pass without yielding evidence enough for constructing an *authentic* Plan of Ancient Jerusalem; and may it not be well, until then, to hold in suspense our opinion, whatever it may be, on matters which, at present, cannot be conclusively determined? Let the Turk retire, and the Topographer may step forward.

In behalf of the Plan attached to this note, nothing is advanced beyond this—namely, that it exhibits those natural features of the site of Jerusalem—spoken of above—which seem to determine the position, and the *general limits* of the ancient city. To these natural features of the spot are

added—1st, the exterior walls of the Haram, assumed to be identical, or nearly so, with those of the Temple enclosure ; and which rest, as it is believed, upon the same unmoved foundations ;—2d, the course of the modern walls—coincident, undoubtedly, to some extent, with the course of the *ancient* walls ;—3d, those ancient tanks, the Upper and Lower Pools of Gihon, the antiquity of which is not questioned ;—and 4th, the CITADEL, or “Tower of David,” and which is believed to be identical with the HIPPICUS of Herod’s time. This Plan therefore, far as it comes short of what has often been attempted in regard to the topography of Ancient Jerusalem, exhibits *all* that can safely be spoken of as unquestionable ; and such as it is it will afford the reader some aid in following our author’s description of the city, and his narrative of the events of the siege.

NOTES ON PASSAGES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CHARACTER OF JOSEPHUS, AND THE HISTORIC AUTHORITY OF HIS WRITINGS.

IN the introductory Essay on the “Personal character and credibility of Josephus,” an endeavour has been made to place before the reader those facts and considerations of a general kind, which, while they tend to warrant the reliance that is placed upon his testimony, as on the whole that of a trust-worthy historian, do not involve us in the difficulties which must attach to any attempt to set him forth as *personally* entitled to much respect or regard. These facts and considerations were drawn from a broad view of the whole of his extant writings, rather than *specially* from the few pages of his autobiography. But inasmuch as the idea we form of an author—an historian especially, cannot but influence, at every turn, the opinion we entertain of the value of his evidence, and the conclusions we draw from his statements, it seems desirable, in this place, to give a more exact attention to certain passages in his own history, considered as illustrative of his motives, principles, intentions ; and of his position, as the historian of his nation’s fortunes and fall. These passages, therefore, we now note, in the order in which they occur.

VOL. I. PAGE 31.

. . . . *I trace my descent*

It is evident that Josephus, although he might err in the method he adopted for commending Judaism to the favour of the Gentile world, was as far as possible from wishing, either to disown the peculiar institutions of his nation, or to conceal the fact of his own Jewish origin. He introduces himself to his gentile readers, as—A JEW—and a Jewish Priest. If he

claimed nobility, it was that derived from a *fallen* sacerdotal order, and an *extinct* royal line. Even the race with which he connected himself seemed to be threatened with annihilation. This first paragraph of the *LIFE* supplies, therefore, a sufficient answer to the allegations of those who would arraign Josephus, as writing in the character of the apostate, and as the enemy of his country and nation.

Frequent instances occur in the compass of his writings which indicate the vivid sense he had of the honours of Jewish nobility, as connected with the priestly office: and it is especially to be observed that this class was scattered, and apparently becoming extinct, at the time when this *Memoir* was given to the world; and that the Jew, *as such*, was then treated with the utmost scorn. Josephus, we see, is careful to note the circumstances of his *maternal* pedigree. On this point the Jews, and the priests particularly, were very sensitive. The extreme care with which the purity of sacerdotal marriages was preserved is mentioned by him. (*ANTIQUITIES*, III. xii. 2.) The priests were forbidden to contract marriage “with women of ambiguous reputation, or of servile condition; or with those who had been captives, taken in war; or with any who gained their subsistence as victuallers, or who had, on any account whatever, been divorced.” It was a proverbial commendation of a woman, among the Jews—as Lightfoot reports—“She is fit to be the wife of a priest!”

In the first book *AGAINST APION*, our author insists, emphatically, upon this very point, as corroborative of the authenticity of the Jewish records, which, he says, had ever remained in the care and keeping of the sacerdotal order—itself in the highest degree scrupulous as to the purity of its lineage. Not only, he says, have the sacred documents been in the charge of, and compiled by, the most eminent of the sacerdotal order, but every precaution is taken to preserve the integrity of the priestly stock. A priest must take to himself a wife of his own nation (*tribe*, in fact); and in making the choice, he must be influenced by no sordid or ambitious considerations:—the woman whom he selects must be able to establish her own pedigree, by the evidence of many witnesses. Nor is this caution observed in Judæa only, but wherever the Hebrew race is scattered, as, for instance, in Egypt, Babylon, and elsewhere. And in the case of marriages contracted at a distance from the parent country, the schedules of ancestry are sent to Jerusalem, properly attested. Or when war has given rise to confusion, or has occasioned the loss of documents, as in the instances of the invasions of Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey, and Varus, and again in the recent war, the surviving priests have been careful to prepare, from existing documents and examinations, new tables of the sacerdotal pedigrees. Any priest, adds our author, convicted of an attempt to falsify these records, is for ever forbidden to approach the altar, or to discharge other liturgical functions.

Yet what we have now particularly in view is the fact of our author's solicitude to vindicate his personal credit, on this peculiar ground. It is quite manifest that, in introducing himself to the gentile world, he is very

far from being ashamed of his origin : on the contrary, he asserts, with some anxiety, the distinctions—such as they were, which thence attached to him.

. . . . in the year that Caius Cæsar ascended the throne.

A D. 37. Consequently Josephus was in his thirtieth year at the commencement of the troubles which preceded the siege of Jerusalem. His fifty-sixth year—about which period this Memoir was composed, corresponds with the eleventh year of Domitian. Hyrcanus, the eldest son of Josephus, by his first wife—from whom he soon afterwards separated, was born two years posterior to the destruction of the city. After a short interval he married a Jewess of Crete, a lady of noble family, as he states, and of noble qualities also ; who bore him the two sons mentioned in this place, and in the concluding paragraph of the Memoir. In the same place (Sect. LXXV.) he states the fact, that his first wife was one who had been captured at Cæsarea, and whom he married “at the command of Vespasian,” καὶ δὲ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ. This circumstance, which has been adduced among the charges brought against our author, demands some explanation ; and especially as it stands connected with his own acknowledgment, just above mentioned, that it was forbidden to the priests to form a matrimonial alliance of this sort—namely, with a woman whose misfortune it was to have been, even for a time, at the disposal of an enemy. The reason of such a prohibition is obvious ; and as if to exclude a probable inculpation of his conduct on this particular ground, he is careful to add the assurance, he had not done so without a due regard to the *spirit* of the rule, the *letter* of which *he had* violated—ἡγαγόμεν τινὰ παρθένον.

A recent French writer, alluding to this fact, says,—“ Josèph . . . abjura les coutumes nationales, épousa une captive de Tarichée, mariage défendu par la loi judaïque.” But the regulations concerning the marriages of priests, mentioned by Josephus, were of no higher authority than that of the Rabbinical Traditions : therefore the marriage in question was *not* “ défendu par la loi judaïque.” Moreover, as we have said, Josephus takes care to affirm that the ground of this prohibition was superseded in his case, by the *fact* of the uncontaminated purity of this captive. Beside, the marriage itself was not a spontaneous act :—it took place while Josephus himself might at any moment have been delivered to the lictor, for execution ; and he declares that he had married at the command of him whose prisoner he was : and further, as if to rid himself of imputations on this ground, he dissolved the marriage immediately on his regaining his liberty ;—that is to say, as early as he could do so.

This incident therefore is altogether in harmony with the idea which we have formed of the personal character of Josephus. It is true he was not the man to die, rather than to compromise in the least article, his Jewish notions or convictions ; or than to tarnish his bright sacerdotal honour. But

neither was he the man to forget or to renounce these obligations. Himself a captive, he had married a captive ; but she was a virgin (and *his affirmation* of this, whether true or not, carries our present argument) ; he married at the command of the master of his life ;—but when free, he immediately availed himself of the Jewish licence of divorce ; thus, as we must grant, compromising the perpetual obligations of virtue, for the sake of those which were conventional only. Nevertheless, the incident, if equitably considered, does not justify the use that has been made of it by those who have laboured to destroy the reputation of Josephus.

PAGE 32.

. . . . *inscribed in the public records*

The expression here employed by our author—"as I have found it," *ἡύρον*, inscribed in the public records or tablets, may be regarded as silently conveying the intimation of a fact, the recollection of which would awaken, in the bosom of every Jew, emotions of regret the most poignant. The destruction of the temple itself would scarcely be recalled with more pain than was excited by the thought, that the national "record office"—the *ἀρχεῖον*, containing at once the credentials of all the secular distinctions in which a Jew could take pride, and the only certain means of establishing the lineage of the expected Messiah, had not been rescued from the general conflagration of the public buildings of Acra.—WAR, VI. vi. 3.

It might be true that the more opulent Jewish houses possessed authenticated copies of the public registries ; and that, by these means, the patrician families might, for a while, be able to assert their honours. Yet these duplicates, besides that they were likely soon to be scattered and destroyed amid the perils and ill chances of captivity and exile, would unavoidably forfeit a portion of the credit to which they were really entitled, from the facility with which forgeries might be effected, to supply the place of such as had been lost. After a time, who could say whether such documents of pedigree were genuine, or supposititious ? The genuine, therefore, would avail the possessors little, liable as they were to be confounded with such as had been fabricated.

Thus was this unhappy people—although preserved as a *race*, yet destroyed as a nation, or social body. Themselves saved to wander, and to weep ; while their polity, and their worship, and their honours, were all annihilated !

By the demolition of the second temple, and by the cessation of the sacrifices, and, not least, by this destruction of the national genealogies, the hope of a Messiah to appear subsequently to this devastation of the Jewish polity, was rendered utterly irrational. In the place of a hope which had given him constancy during many seasons of cruel suffering, the Jew was now driven forth from his land, clinging to an infatuation, which himself dared not examine.

. . . . *Jerusalem, the most considerable of our cities.*

This mode of introducing the name of the "Holy City"—of all cities the most noted, may seem strange to the modern reader; and in fact it demands some explanation; but this requires that we should carry ourselves back to our author's times, and place ourselves in the position he occupied as addressing the gentile world.

Apart from such a recollection of facts, a phrase like this suggests unwarranted suspicions as to our author's actual relationship to his country.

Those conceptions of sacred awe and affection which have become associated in our minds, as Christians, with the name—Jerusalem, render it difficult for us to hear the metropolis of Palestine spoken of by classic writers in terms of little respect, indicating that it was then regarded as one of the obscure sites of ancient civilization. Yet as such, in fact, Jerusalem was accounted by a large portion of the Roman World, eastern and western, until the period when it had become the centre of Christian sentiment, and the grand emporium of those superstitions which prevailed from the fourth century, and onward.

Palestine, and its "chief city"—this not being a maritime town—were much less known or thought of among the surrounding nations, than might have been imagined; and it is not without some surprise, or even disappointment, that, in looking into ancient authors, we find it either not mentioned at all, or mentioned only in the most cursory manner. Thus it is that, in following the steps of Herodotus, as he enters upon the sacred territory, and at a time concerning which our information is so scanty—the age of Malachi, Nehemiah, and Ezra, we find him barely alluding to the city of Solomon, and entirely silent as to the singular institutions of the people! Reporting the victory gained over the Syrians by Pharaoh Necho, at Magdolum, (Megiddo,) he states, that the Egyptian king, after this success, took Cadytis (*El Kuds, the Holy*)—a large city of Syria.—EUTERPE, 159. And again—THALIA, 5—in speaking of the geography of the countries bordering upon Egypt, his allusion to Jerusalem is as brief as possible:—and yet it is of a kind plainly indicating that he had personally visited it.—"Cadytis, a city of the Syrian Palestine, not much inferior in size, as it seems to me, to Sardis."

Strabo, where he defines Syria, (XVI.) does not even name Jerusalem; and he incidentally mentions the Jews, as one of the four races that occupied the soil. A little further on, in the same book, as he descends the coast, after speaking particularly of Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus, he mentions Joppa, "whence, as they affirm, Jerusalem, the metropolis of the Jews, may be descried."

Polybius disappoints us in another manner, by stating—XVI. 39,—that having more to say concerning Jerusalem, and the splendour—*ἐπιφάνεια*, of

its temple than he could then report, he reserves the description of it for a season of leisure :—*εἰς ἕτερον καιρὸν ὑπερθήσομεν τὴν διήγησιν.*

Plutarch refers to the conquest of Judæa by Pompey, without so much as naming the capital of the country; and again, in the Life of M. Antonius, he mentions the country, but not its “crown;” and the fortunes of the people, but not their glory; and although very frequently alluding to Jewish usages, he does so without seeming to attach to the subject any such importance as we might suppose it to deserve.

Pliny the Elder, much more respectful, as he is, in his reference to Jerusalem, nevertheless confines himself to the fewest words which, on such a subject, could well be employed. Enumerating the ten toparchies into which Judæa was divided, he names, as the ninth, “Orinen, (*Ὀρεινήν*, the *hill country*,) in quâ fuere Hierosolyma, longe clarissima urbium orientis, non Judææ modo.” V. 15. If this were not saying too much—Damascus, Antioch, Seleucia, considered, it seems to be too little. The only other reference to the Holy City, in this writer, is a mere mention of the name. (XXVII. 5.)

Pomponius Mela specifies the noted cities of Palestine—Gaza, Ascalon, Joppa, Tyre, Sidon, and others; but does not even name Jerusalem!

Now, trivial as may seem the mere circumstance of the mode in which our author introduces the name of the Holy City to his readers, it is in fact highly significant, as it stands related to the estimate we have formed both of his grasp of mind, and of his purpose, as a writer. Josephus was well aware of the place which the Jewish metropolis held in the esteem of the world at large; and he mentions it, on the first occasion, in terms accordant with the notions of those for whom he was writing. No Jew, thoroughly such in feeling, would thus coldly have designated his “Jerusalem—the joy of the whole earth!” The temper and habit of mind which led Josephus in this manner to adapt himself to the views of others—a temper the very reverse of that which was so characteristic of his countrymen—is apparent in this minute instance; and a recollection of it should be retained throughout the perusal of his works. Equally free, in most instances, from exaggeration, and from national prejudice, he is so without the too usual accompaniment of such freedom—a disposition to disparage or to calumniate what is national or peculiar. Respectfully, and in the calmest manner, he adverts to, and describes, the usages of his people; but he does so as a man who had conversed largely with the world.

. . . . *about my fourteenth year*

This passage is too significant, in relation to our immediate purpose, to be hastily dismissed. One or two circumstances of the Jewish domestic economy should, however, be premised. The male children, among this people, usually remained in the care of their mothers, or nurses, until they had completed their fifth year; when they came more directly under the

paternal control, and commenced their training in the arts of life, acquiring as well the elements of sacred learning in the school of a priest or levite. About their thirteenth year, when they were called "sons of the commandment," i.e. amenable to law, they entered upon a higher degree, and addressed themselves to the study of the "six hundred and thirty-one precepts," collected out of the Mosaic canon. As they advanced toward their fourteenth year, they were considered to be capable of choosing their own tutors, as well as of disposing of property. The father, on this occasion, convened his friends and relatives, declared to them the age and proficiency of his son, and offered a prayer, with thanksgiving, expressive of his desire for his welfare, and of the pleasure he felt in being so far acquitted of his responsibility as a parent. At fifteen, the Jewish youth were permitted to dispute on questions in the Gamara—a traditionary exposition of the Law:—they knew, however, very little of the prophets; and to this ignorance are to be attributed the errors prevalent among the people relative to the Messiah. Our author's averments, therefore, as to what may seem his early proficiency, are by no means incompatible with Jewish notions and practices. But what he further affirms is not so easily intelligible. The circumstance mentioned in this section will of course remind us of the incident in our Lord's early life, recorded by St. Luke—ii. 46. The fact that Jesus, at so tender an age, was found "sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions," was altogether accordant with the usages of the people among whom it occurred. Nothing, in this case, appears extraordinary, but that preternatural intelligence in the child, which amazed the auditors. But what Josephus relates of himself can be made to appear probable only by the aid of some peculiar considerations. It was one thing for a youth, sitting at the feet of the rabbis, to astound them by the intelligence of his questions and of his answers;—it was quite another for these doctors, including even the highest personages of the state, to gather around a stripling, at his home, to learn wisdom from his lips! The fact itself here affirmed, as well as our author's affirmation of it, demand some attention, especially as tending to throw light upon his personal character, which it is our immediate object to elucidate.

The writings of Josephus incontestably prove, as we have already observed, his extraordinary capacity, and especially his power of acquiring and of employing to advantage a various amount of erudition. The books against Apion, considered as the work of a man whose early studies had embraced little or nothing beyond the nugatory logomachies of rabbinical exposition, indicate powers of mind of a high order. The author of them, it is evident, could acquire with ease what was the most foreign to his habits of thought; and could command, with equal ease, what he had thus acquired. This faculty of *appliance*, which was not at all characteristic of the Jewish race, displayed itself, we cannot doubt, in his early course; nor could it fail to attract notice. His *admitted* superiority among his countrymen, he more than once alludes to, and he affirms it, in the closing paragraph of the

“Antiquities,” where he confidently asserts that he had accomplished his task of laying the history of his people before the Grecian world, in a manner which no one but himself, whether Jew or Gentile, could have equalled. As to his countrymen, whatever might be their proficiency in their own Law, they, as he says, held those in little esteem who became versed in foreign languages; whereas he, from his youth, had addicted himself to such acquirements, and had failed in nothing but in mastering the nice pronunciation of the Greek language.

Of the early intelligence of such a man we may well be prepared to hear what is extraordinary. And, on the other hand, the mental condition of these “priests and doctors,” who are said, while he was yet a boy, to have sought instruction at his lips, should also be duly considered. What then were these “teachers of the Law,” at the time which is now in our view? (that of the Christian council at Jerusalem.) By infallible lips these very men had been denounced as “blind leaders of the blind.” A nugatory, sophistical, and frivolous mode of thinking was their characteristic. The mingled perverseness and infatuation which comes, as a cloud, upon whoever forsakes the Divine Testimony, and prefers to it the “vain traditions and commandments of men,” had darkened their understandings:—there was “no light in them.”—“Fools and blind,” were they, even before the moment when their mad rejection of their King and Saviour had drawn upon them a judicial perplexity of soul. Every year, as it elapsed, after the ascension of Christ, rendered any *consistent* interpretation of prophecy more and more difficult to those who had so fatally overlooked its true import. Consequently, those shifts and evasive glosses to which desperate pride is driven, became every day more and more absurd, and less and less defensible. The mere adherence to these fallacies operated, by a reflected influence, to stultify still further the mind of the rabbi. At the same moment, the bold, simple-hearted, perspicuous, scriptural, and conclusive arguments of Christian teachers, such as Paul, Barnabas, and Apollos, were echoing around the walls of the temple. Often, at this very time, were these same priests and doctors confounded, in the hearing of the people, and compelled, if not to blush, yet to grind their teeth in vexation.

Such a state of things as this, the difficulties of which were constantly becoming more urgent, could not fail to excite the rabbis to a renewed diligence in searching for plausible evasions of the prophetic text. Ingenuity was racked to find the means of turning aside the sword of the Spirit, as wielded by the Christian teachers. It must not therefore be thought altogether improbable that the extraordinary intelligence, and the various acquirements of one like the young Josephus, whose range of thought was so much wider than their own, should have been caught at, as a source of new sophistries, or of unthought-of hypotheses.

Connecting, therefore, our author’s affirmation, so coolly advanced, with the critical position of the Jewish doctors *at this very moment*, when the Christian doctrine was rapidly spreading among the people, and when even

“ a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith,” we must regard it as by no means so inexplicable, or inadmissible, as at first sight it may appear.

. . . . *I took him as my exemplar*

Again a reference to the actual facts is demanded, in estimating the probability of our author's narrative, and thence his own credibility. His residence in the desert is not to be thought of as if it involved the austerities that were usual with the Christian anchorites of the fifth century. The *ancient* solitary discipline, as practised in the climate of Syria, was by no means formidable; and to a youth in good health, it could be little more than an agreeable “rustication.”

The oriental and Syrian contemplatists did not found their mode of life upon the principle of expiatory torture; nor did they inflict upon themselves frightful sufferings, as proofs, or as the means of sanctity. What they sought was merely an exemption from the cares and distractions of common life, purchased by an abstinence from some of its pleasures. They desired to be at liberty to think and to muse—the long day through, and on the cheapest terms. To secure this species of enjoyment, they repaired to some solitude, where what was indispensable to the support of animal life might be obtained with little or no labour. They clad themselves, so far as clothed at all—for their designation, *gymnosophists*, does not imply a superfluity of dress—with the broad leaves of the plantain, stitched together; and they subsisted upon wild dates, gourds, figs, locusts, and honey, as well as upon some esculent roots. And among the chinks of the many-caverned rocks of Syria and Petrea, they readily found shelter, and cool recesses.

Nor must this eremitic life be confounded with the far more artificial institution of the Essenes—a very ancient institution also—any more than with the fanatical monkery of a later age. It was the simplest, and the most picturesque idea of that style of human existence which removes itself to the furthest possible distance from the active, the sensuous, and the impassioned. Instead of the life of *desire*, of *labour*, and of *care*, it was the life of emaciated intellectualism!

This Bannus indulged, we are told, in frequent ablutions; but on the contrary, the Christian ascetics did not wash, and rejected with disdain the very notion of cleanliness. Fasting, or professing to fast, three, four, or five days, in every week, and engaged nightly in palpable combats with legions of fiends, and beset daily by crowds of admirers, these recluses—if such we may call them, had as little leisure as they had inclination, for philosophic meditation; especially as the repetition of one, two, or even three hundred prayers, was to be secured within the compass of the twenty-four hours! To no such discipline as this, we may be sure, did our Josephus subject himself; and we must give a softened rendering to the—*σκληραγωγῆσας*, and the *πολλὰ ποιεῖς*, which he applies to his noviciates. It is not

improbable that, during his recess in the wilderness, he prosecuted some of those studies of which the fruits appear in his writings.

. . . . *my twenty-sixth year*

This would be A.D. 63, and therefore corresponds with the time of the expiration of St. Paul's two years' imprisonment at Rome. It was also the year preceding that in which happened the conflagration of the city—an event so fatal in its consequences to the Christians! The custom of sending prisoners to Rome, to appear at Cæsar's tribunal, as in the case of Paul, was ordinary; and our author mentions several instances of the kind.

. . . . *using only figs and nuts*

It has been imagined that these Jewish priests were ascetics! Yet nothing is more simple than the circumstance here mentioned; and it is similar altogether to that of the Jewish captives, recorded by Daniel. It was no rule of *abstinence* that impelled those youths to entreat an exemption for themselves from the despotism of the Babylonish chief cook. The dread they felt of violating either the Mosaic prohibitions, or their acquired repugnances concerning food, was their only motive. The conscientious Jew avoided as food—*first*, the flesh of animals prohibited as unclean by the law;—*secondly*, the flesh even of clean animals that had not been slaughtered in the Jewish manner, or so as to be as free as possible from blood;—*thirdly*, any articles of food cooked in a mode which might violate the Mosaic precepts in their rigid acceptation; and *fourthly*, all meats which, according to polytheistic customs, might have been offered at the altar of an idol: or even in the remotest manner associated with any such contaminations. Thus, and in so many ways restricted, the Jew, when in a foreign land, and apart from his compatriots; and especially when he was a captive, often found himself compelled to submit to severe privations. His only resource was—when it remained to him, to betake himself to a vegetable diet; and in doing so, he selected those fruits, which require no culinary preparation; such, for instance, as figs and nuts. Hindoos and Mahometans are now often seen to adopt a similar course, under similar circumstances.

The commendation intended to be assigned to these Jewish prisoners, is therefore not that of asceticism; but that of a scrupulous and self-denying regard to their national observances. And herein we find another instance, confirmatory of our position, that Josephus, far from renouncing, or from seeming indifferent to the religious peculiarities of his nation, refers to them always in the clearest and the boldest manner: manifestly he was not ashamed of Judaism.

. . . . *after an extremely perilous voyage*

This incident, not at all extraordinary in itself, can hardly fail to remind us of the circumstances of St. Paul's voyage to Rome. Even the expressions employed by the two writers offer some singular coincidences; but to suppose, as some have done, that St. Paul and Josephus were passengers on board the same vessel, is to venture much too far on the ground of mere conjecture. According to the several chronologies of the two memoirs—the “Acts,” and the “Life,” the voyage of Josephus occurred two years, at least, later than that of the Apostle. And the points of agreement in the two narratives are mingled with discordances which are not to be reconciled.

The priests, whom Felix had sent in chains to Rome, appear to have remained there bound, as St. Paul had done, for a considerable time. St. Paul and his companions were put on board a ship of Alexandria. Josephus, and those rescued from the waves with him, were taken up by a ship of Cyrene. Both vessels encountered a tempest in the Adriatic:—the crews of both were compelled to seek safety in swimming; and in both instances, the shores of Italy were touched at the same point—Puteoli; which, indeed, was the haven for the African and Egyptian traders. Both travellers, on their landing, made acquaintance with some of their compatriots. These circumstances are, however, all ordinary and natural—and are by no means such as to justify the conjecture to which we have alluded. As to the Jews who were met with at Putcoli, it appears from a passage of the WAR, II. vii. 1, compared with the ANTIQUITIES, XVII. xii. 1, that several of that nation had there established themselves;—as they had in most places to which commerce attracted strangers.

On my arrival

—that is to say, on his return from Rome. This journey to the metropolis of the world, and the opportunities it must have afforded him for learning, authentically, what were the disposable forces of the empire, would naturally impress a cautious and politic mind like that of Josephus, with a vivid conviction of the extreme folly of the revolt which his countrymen then meditated. Moreover, he had actually witnessed the horrors of imperial revenge, and he had stood and trembled in the presence of Nero! This visit to Rome may be probably assumed as having been the circumstance which determined his after course, as a public man. Thoroughly sincere were his endeavours to turn his countrymen from their insane purpose. But when he found this could not be done, rather than forfeit the influence he had acquired, he temporized, and entered upon a devious path, where his course could not be altogether consistent with any great principle of action.

. . . . *the leaders of the brigand band*

This, and similar opprobrious epithets, constantly applied by Josephus to the leaders of revolt in this war, demand consideration, inasmuch as the opinion we may form in this particular instance, of his historical integrity, must regulate our estimate of the value of his testimony in other analogous cases.

The term *ληστής* does not well admit of any English rendering which might carry a meaning of chivalrous bravery and honour. It must needs be translated by the unseemly word—robber, or brigand! True it is that, in the early times of Grecian history, as Thucydides assures us—I. 5, the phrase *ληστεία*, far from its being associated with ideas of disgrace, was gloried in by the predatory chiefs who, on land and water, lived by their swords, at the cost of their defenceless neighbours: but notions such as these can attach only to the rudest condition of society, and they had become obsolete long before the Greek language acquired its classic sense.

That the epithet was well merited by the men to whom, ordinarily, Josephus applies it, there can be no room to doubt. We may nevertheless regret that he did not take occasion, when employing it, to insist upon some distinctions which a warm patriotic sentiment would have impelled him to regard. Although it be certain that the foremost actors in this insurrectionary war were, in fact, such as he states them to have been—men trained to violence, subsisting upon rapine, and who had long released themselves from all restraints of law and justice; yet such were not thousands of those who freely took part in the revolt, and who shared, not only the miseries it entailed, but also the arduous struggles by which it was protracted. The “robbers and assassins”—the Sikars, whose ruthless crimes darken this history, could not possibly have gained the ascendancy which they actually acquired throughout the country, and in the city, had they not found the mass of the people already maddened by the infliction of intolerable wrongs, on the part of the Roman governors, and the military chiefs. Josephus himself narrates these insufferable provocations with a proper distinctness; and we should have been fully content with him, as the historian of his people's overthrow, had he, with a mingled feeling of generous indignation, and of keen sympathy toward his unhappy countrymen, arraigned more boldly the Roman government, as the real mover of the rebellion; and so excused his nation, on the plea that there is a limit, in human nature, to the power of endurance; and that oppression, so extreme, “maketh even a wise man mad.” The History of the Jewish War should have been written with a warmer Jewish feeling; but in truth, had our author's bosom heaved with emotions of this order, he himself would not have survived to compose it.

The preceding Roman procurators had severely tried the patience of the Jewish people, who, on many occasions, had shown all the forbearance that

could have been expected from them. The licentious legions to which Claudius had granted permission to stay in Palestine, contrary to the dictates of his better judgment, had, by their exactions and their enormities, kept alive irritation, even when the procurator himself might be regardful of justice and mercy. But too often, he was himself the author—openly or secretly—of the most flagitious acts. Such was Albinus, procurator—A.D. 62; and still worse, the cruel and rapacious Gessius Florus, who succeeded him.

Under the administration of this monster, not only had the people been wrought up to a pitch of frenzy by the outrages, of every kind, which he perpetrated; but that class of men—the *Thugs* of that age, who had already become very numerous, and whose profession was rapine and murder, now openly traversed the country, and might be spoken of, almost, as its real masters. These men—the “robbers and assassins”—*λησται καὶ σικάριοι*, of our author's vocabulary, fomenting every discontent, and rushing forward to promote and to head every tumult, acquired, by their habits and by their ferocity, a sort of military commission, which made them the leaders, on all occasions when arms were resorted to. In narrating the events of a revolt, thus promoted, it is not surprising that Josephus should mention more frequently these lawless chiefs, than he does the unhappy people who were their tools and victims. It is these brigands that occupy the foreground of the picture; nor is this circumstance, in itself, to be complained of, or wondered at. What we must regret, is our author's want of that deep national sentiment, and of those generous resentments, which would have impelled him to give more prominence to the wrongs of his people than to their faults; and to have distinguished *always*, as he does *sometimes*, between the robbers, and the outraged and exasperated multitude.

That our author should describe the insurrection as, mainly, the work of the robbers and assassins, does not therefore disparage his veracity, or detract from the credibility of his history;—for such was unquestionably the case. At the same time the coldness of his manner, when reporting this fact, cannot but diminish our regard toward himself, as a man, and greatly blemish his reputation as a patriot.

PAGE 34.

. . . . *they compelled those of that nation*

The transactions here briefly referred to are related in the WAR, II. xviii. more at large, and not discordantly in point of fact; although, at a glance, it may so appear. The—*πολλὰς μυριάδας*, in its ordinary use, is a vague expression, importing a large, or indefinite number; and it is often employed by Greek writers when many fewer than sixteen thousand are intended, which is the actual number of Jews stated by our author, in his History of the War, to have been butchered by the people of Scythopolis. But we must be content with a less satisfactory explanation of the passage immediately following, in which Josephus states that one party of Jews had been

compelled to bear arms against another,—“in opposition to our law ;”—*ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἀθέμιτον*—a thing to us prohibited, or regarded as impiously wicked. Doubtless the Mosaic institute was opposed, in its spirit and tendency, to all intestine war ; nor had the prophets failed to protest against the fratricidal practice, as, 1 Kings xii. 24. But in point of fact, so often had Israel and Judah met in the clash of arms, and so often had tribe fought with tribe, that civil war could not well be spoken of as a thing unheard of among the Jews. This profession bears some resemblance to that flagrant falsehood, uttered by this often-subjugated, and then—enthralled people, when they declared that they “were never in bondage to any man !” In various instances of this kind, Josephus will be found to affirm, in the Jewish manner, more than he could well make good by an appeal to facts.

. . . the Jews were rather impelled by necessity, than led by inclination.

This passage, to which our author invites the particular regard of his readers, we are bound to consider attentively. Now, whether or not the *fact* be as he states it, that the Jews were hurried into the insurrectionary war by a kind of necessity, and against their deliberate intentions, *his assertion* that it was so, and the pains he takes to make it so appear, bring him before us as the apologist of his people ; and it thus conclusively repels the calumny which would arraign him as their enemy. He wishes the world to believe, that a concurrence of untoward events had driven the Jewish nation forward, contrary to their will, toward a desperate position, whence there was no way of escape for them, but in rebellion. And it is particularly to be noticed that, in assigning the causes of the troubles which ended in the ruin of his country, he boldly and distinctly specifies, as we shall see, the cruelties, and the intolerable oppressions of the Roman procurators. It was the mal-administration of the men to whom the emperors had confided the care of Judæa, that, as Josephus affirms, had at once wrought the people to frenzy, and had called into existence those numerous bands of robbers who were the leaders of tumult, and the real movers of the war.

By the mere facts of the case therefore, whatever may be thought of the validity of the apology he offers, Josephus stands acquitted of the charge of flattering the Roman government, on the one hand, and of aggravating the guilt of his nation on the other. He accuses them, indeed—or rather a portion of them—of rashness, inconsideration, miscalculation of their strength and resources ; and, at last, of an extreme infatuation ; but he takes especial care to preclude, at the outset, the supposition that the Jewish people, as a body, or that their constituted national rulers, had deliberately devised a revolt.

Here again then, we say, that deficient as Josephus may have been in lofty sentiments, or in national enthusiasm, it is an extreme injustice to speak of him as either the obsequious adulator of his masters, or as the calumniator of his unhappy countrymen. If indeed he had found himself

compelled "to lie in every page, for his own defence," he would doubtless have gone the whole length of falsification, and have affirmed, what could not, at the time when he wrote, have been disproved, that the Jewish War had been planned in the palace of the high priest. This allegation would best have served the double purpose imputed to him, first, of revenging himself upon his nation, and then of enhancing the importance of the conquest which the Roman arms had achieved. Instead of doing so, he throws all the blame upon an obscure, and a then-extinct class of the community; and he represents the miseries which his people had suffered as the consequence of untoward events, and of the wanton provocations by which their patience had been exhausted.

PAGE 35.

Justus the son of Pistus

This Justus, the son of Pistus, was the rival of Josephus not merely as a political chief, but also as a writer, and as the historian of the Jewish War. We should listen, therefore, with caution to what our author may advance, as to the conduct and merits of this individual. He comes before us once and again in the course of the Memoir, and we here direct the reader's attention to the circumstance of this double rivalry. It will be observed that Josephus allows his rival to have been skilled in Grecian literature—rare accomplishment as it was, and one in which he especially prided himself.

PAGE 39.

. . . . to destroy the palace which Herod the tetrarch had erected

This sumptuous structure, as well as the amphitheatres and other buildings in Judæa, or Galilee, which were devoted to purposes of profane amusement, or decorated with idolatrous symbols, had, although erected by their own princes, been the objects of extreme uneasiness to the Jewish people; and in fact they had been the immediate occasions of frequent and sanguinary tumults. The Jews—chiefs as well as people, had, at this period of their history, become in the keenest manner sensitive to any infringement of the Mosaic law, touching idolatrous practices, or image-like decorations. And it was this feeling—commendable, surely, in itself—which, more than any other, had rendered the Roman yoke, and the military occupation of their country and city intolerable to them. To the same sentiment must be attributed, mainly, that impatience which issued in the open rebellion of the nation, and which ended in its dispersion.

But what we have now to do with, is the conduct of Josephus on this occasion, acting, as he declares himself to have done, in compliance with the instructions he had received from Jerusalem. Galilee, at the time now in question, may be said to have been in the military occupation of the Jews:

and Josephus was the chief of the irregular and tumultuary force which held it. His colleagues, who had now saturated themselves with gold, thought only of quietly returning to their homes ; and they were retained that they might give their mute sanction to his proceedings, which in the end they ruinously thwarted. It had become, therefore, his duty, *as a matter of course*, to give effect to the principle which, as we find, was now uniformly acted upon by the Jewish people, and to which, with admirable constancy, they had adhered on several memorable occasions—namely, to resist always to the utmost the introduction of idolatrous symbols and decorations, and to remove them whenever it was in their power so to do.

The country round the Lake of Tiberias, on its western side, was now commanded by the Jewish chief ; and therefore the tolerance of the “offence” which Herod’s palace had occasioned, would have exposed himself and his constituents to popular odium. Much greater perils had been boldly encountered by the Jews at Jerusalem, in resisting similar violations of their laws, than any that could be incurred in demolishing the palace of Herod at Tiberias. It appears, however, that Josephus did not feel himself strong enough to effect this object without leave obtained of the citizens ; who might naturally grudge to see so noble a structure—the ornament of their city, levelled with the ground. The public discussion of the point—the destruction of the palace being resisted, as might have been expected, by those who wished to maintain their allegiance to the Romans—gave time to the leader of a predatory band to rush upon the spoil—to seize that more precious portion of it—the gold, the silver, and the brass, which a conflagration would bring within their reach.

These spoils, which, had they been carefully removed, would probably have amounted to a vast sum, Josephus, we may well believe, had not forgotten, as a means either of making peace with the Romans, or of conciliating Agrippa, or of carrying on the insurrectionary war, should it seem practicable to do so. The endeavours he afterwards made to recover a portion of the plunder, and to reserve it, under the care of the magistrates of Tiberias, were consistent with these intentions. In these instances Josephus appears to have pursued a course which, while it accorded with his position as a Jewish chief, never deviated, so far as he could control it, from that which should leave open to him a possible return to his duty toward Agrippa, and toward Cæsar. It was thus that, in endeavouring to prevent the seizure of the public granaries by his rival, John, he professed his intention to reserve these stores, as circumstances might dictate, “either for the Romans, or for his own use;”—that is to say, his use as governor and general.

PAGE 40.

. . . . *no oil pure enough for their use*

This circumstance demands explanation, as connected with the conduct of Josephus, in which we cannot but observe a uniformity of motive, although

he was continually thwarted by the impracticable temper of those with whom he had to do. Oil—an article indispensable in the East, was not less so among the Jews than among their neighbours. It formed an article of diet ;—it was peculiarly necessary—or thought to be so, for lubricating and cleansing the skin ; and mingled with wine, it was the principal means of effecting the cure of wounds. It constituted, also, a part of the offerings of the Jewish worship ; and was moreover the symbolic element, employed in conveying sacerdotal and civil dignities. In relation to this, therefore, as to other articles of consumption, the Jews scrupulously confined themselves to the use of such as had been prepared by themselves, and which had not passed, commercially, through heathen hands. This caution was the more necessary in regard to oil, which, entering as it did into so many idolatrous offices, might be presumed, when purchased in the open market of a heathen town, to have been already dedicated, in some manner, to the “ gods of the heathen.” The scruple herein alleged was therefore one of which every Jew admitted the propriety ; and the subject, as the artful demagogue, John, well knew, would not fail to kindle popular resentment, if Josephus had resisted the proposal of his rival. He yielded—lest he should have been stoned by the people :—such was the precarious position of a military chief of this passionate race ! Pure Jewish oil, it appears, was ten times as dear at Cæsarea as at Gischala. John might, therefore, abate much of this exorbitant price, and, nevertheless, realize an enormous profit.

The tumultuary infliction of death by stoning, had become, even in the case of persons neither tried nor convicted, a sort of Jewish usage—of which several instances occur in the evangelic records.

. . . . put the towns in a posture of defence.

The nature of the country throughout a great part of Galilee, and especially at this period, and before its asperities had been reduced by abrasion of the elements, and by war and artificial means, favoured the fortification of the towns, many of which occupied the summits of precipitous hills. The many volcanic cones of this district, and the sharp termination of the ranges of hills, rendered the construction of temporary fortifications not very costly, where loose materials abounded, and where a dense population might be set to work, at low wages.

Josephus too well understood the modes of assault practised by the Romans, to suppose that any but the most singularly situated hill-forts, such as Jotapata or Masada, could stay the course of the legions, or resist the impulse of those engines that had levelled the firmest structures in the world. Nevertheless these defences—these fortified towns, were important as points of support for a force like that which he commanded ;—they overawed marauding chiefs ;—they discouraged the destructive custom of intestine warfare—town upon town ; and they might even enable whoever should occupy them, to make terms, somewhat more favourably, with the Roman

general. We find Josephus availing himself of every opportunity to construct, or to restore, such defences ; and he made his last stand, as a Jewish chief, in the strongest of them—Jotapata. The same line of policy led him, as he here states, to engage the predatory chiefs as mercenaries, and to purchase exemption from their outrages by pay and commissions. We should notice also the circumstance, that these—the Bedouen of that age, were restricted from assailing the Roman outposts as well as from ravaging the country within which they roamed. What they needed beyond their stipend, must be sought for in distant expeditions. This, in fact, is the bandit's standing rule—to rob always as far as possible from his home.

To complete his plan for maintaining the peace of the country, Josephus retained near him, in all his movements, the chief men of the towns ;—in fact they were hostages, although colleagues in appearance. In a word, a modern commander, under similar circumstances, would not pursue a course differing much from that adopted by Josephus in this instance ; and on this ground he is clearly entitled to high praise. As to the encomiums which he proceeds to bestow upon himself, they are only in keeping with the style of the times ; and in the religious turn which he gives to the subject of his own blameless deportment, he writes altogether in the Jewish fashion ; following what he might deem authoritative examples ; and unless we choose to deny him every merit, we may well think him sincere in the appeal which he thus makes to the Righteous Judge of human actions.

PAGE 41.

. . . . *the hot baths of Tiberias*

We take the occasion to direct the reader's attention to a fact—so important in relation to the general credibility of Josephus, that his incidental allusions to the topography of Palestine, and to the natural features of the country, are singularly exact and precise, and are such as may well supersede the necessity of proving his writings to be the genuine productions of a man who had trodden the country, in its length and breadth, again and again, and whose recollection of the minute circumstances of events was perfect, even after the lapse of many years. Josephus may indeed often be detected in errors, when reporting the events of a *hurried hour*, and when he might have observed what was passing confusedly ; but he is not often at fault when he reports *permanent facts* ; or those facts, of which the native of a country so limited in extent as Palestine, is likely to retain, even in exile, a vivid remembrance. It is thus that, at Rome, and five-and-twenty years after the termination of the War, he mentions, with the ease and *certainty* of familiar knowledge, the relative position and distances of towns and villages, and describes *graphically*, what he describes at all. “*Josèphe a deviné le secret de Richardson, l'intérêt par le detail ; il rend les scènes présentes et voisines.*” But it may be observed, that, although a writer, gifted with the talent for

doing so, and who has witnessed *any one battle*, may describe *any other battle* with vivid truth, the same graphic exactness in the description of *places*, and of natural scenes, as well as of local costumes, is to be attained in no other way than by a long-continued acquaintance with those very places. Our conclusion, then, is this—That the writings of Josephus, inasmuch as they offer, on every page, the indications of a personal and familiar knowledge of the local circumstances of the narrative, and exhibit, moreover, proofs of the faculty of exact observation, as well as a *retentive* and *precise* memory, establish, by these internal characteristics, their own genuineness, and the author's intimate knowledge of his subject.

“ Si ce genre de talent ”—that of exact and vivid description—“ était le génie, on devrait placer Josèphe au-dessus d'Hérodote, au-dessus de Tacite, au-dessus de Thucydide. Souvent il marque ses narrations d'un point lumineux, plus vif au regard, il fait jaillir ses personnages et ses couleurs avec un vigueur plus éblouissante ; on voit circuler dans ses tableaux une atmosphère plus rare et plus diaphane que chez ces grands maîtres.”

PAGE 42.

. . . . *I marched throughout the entire night*

If the site assumed for the ancient Cana of Galilee be correct—Kana-el-Jelil, the distance thence to Tiberias was barely ten miles ; which, at the rate of march for infantry in Palestine—rugged as is the surface, might occupy, under the disadvantage of darkness, four, or perhaps five hours :—*i.e.* from the midnight watch, to the morning watch.

The narrative of this transaction, compared with that given in the Second Book of the WAR, has been adduced as an instance of our author's historical delinquencies ; but such a comparison will barely support any serious charge against him. These discrepancies are of the kind ordinarily attaching to *original* historical documents. When writers of a later age set themselves to *compile* history from various materials, they take care to secure an *apparent* consistency, by keeping out of sight whatever has perplexed themselves, and which would perplex the reader. On the contrary, one who narrates from memory, or from his own notes, transactions in which he was a party, is hurried forward by the vividness of his recollections, and leaves on his pages frequent instances of unintentional error.

PAGE 43.

. . . . *shuddering at the thought of commencing a civil war*

If this be Josephus's own declaration, and in his own favour, and therefore of little value, it is nevertheless in perfect accordance with that course of conduct which the entire narrative shows him to have pursued. With the overwhelming forces of the empire luring around them, the infatuated

Jews fell one upon another, on every trivial provocation—town attacking town, with mad ferocity. Josephus well understood that these intestine disorders could have no other effect than that of saving the Romans the cost of a conquest. The account which he gives of his conduct while commanding in Galilee, accords, at once, with this professed anxiety to prevent civil war, and with that political intelligence of which his writings give incontestable evidence.

PAGE 44.

About this time

In the order of events, as well as in some minute particulars, there is a discrepancy between the narrative, as here given, and that in the Second Book of the WAR. It may be enough to say, that several events nearly resembling each other, and occurring about the same time, appear to have become entangled in our author's memory, so that, in recording them after an interval of twenty-five or thirty years, some single facts belonging to the one have been assigned to the other event, and are interchangeably presented in the WAR, and the LIFE.

PAGE 46.

. . . . the wife of Ptolemy

—Ptolemy, the administrator of Agrippa's kingdom. This transaction deserves a moment's notice, as illustrating the conduct and character of Josephus. The "Great Plain" here means—the plain of Esdraëlon, or Megiddo, which is an undulating tract of fertile country, bounded by the rugged eminences of Galilee on the north and east, and by the hills of Samaria on the south and west. The noble lady here mentioned was passing, probably, from the country beyond the Jordan—that is to say, Gaulonitis—toward Cæsarea, on the coast, which was then occupied by a Roman force. The bandits of Dabaritta, or Daberath, a village situated beneath the western brow of Mount Tabor, dashing from their heights upon the faint-hearted escort, had captured all but the *persons*, who were suffered to pursue their journey. That these freebooters should have dared to enter a town, in broad day, driving their spoil before them, and a town too which was then the head-quarters of the Jewish general and governor of the province, indicates plainly enough what the state of the country was at the time, and what were the modes of proceeding then usual with persons in authority. Several of the Roman procurators, and Florus especially, had more than connived at outrages of this sort—exactng a half of the booty for themselves, as the price of impunity!

It seems to have been supposed by these robbers, that Josephus would grant them a similar licence, on similar, or perhaps better terms. This may be inferred from the expression employed by him :—these young men, he

says, took it ill that they had not received—*μοῖραν*, *their part*, or, as it might be rendered, “their customary allotment,” of the plunder, which was what they had expected, and upon which they had confidently reckoned, in bringing the whole into the town. Now this circumstance, so undesignedly mentioned, affords sufficient proof of the fact—a fact very necessary to be remembered in the perusal of the *WAR*—that a system of licensed anarchy, and of undisguised plunder, had, for some time, prevailed throughout the country. But we well know that, wherever such a system does prevail, it calls into existence a lawless militia, the chiefs of which become at length the masters of the unarmed population. Now Josephus has been assailed on this very ground—that he denominates as *brigands* and *assassins* “the brave men” whom, had he not been himself a renegade, he would have lauded as heroes and patriots! But it is certain that, whatever might be the patriotism of the mass of the Jewish people, the country at this time swarmed with armed bands, practised in every enormity, who had ceased to think of outrage and massacre as crimes, and who had even been taught by the Roman authorities to levy supplies by these very means. The grievous wrongs that had been inflicted upon the nation, and the many instances in which men, driven from their homes, were reduced to desperation, would every day swell these predatory bands. In a country so densely populated as Palestine then was, they may have amounted to many thousands. These, when the country came again to be occupied by the forces of Vespasian, were compelled to retire within the walls of Jerusalem, or of other munitions. In this fact, then, we have a key to the history of the siege, and of its unparalleled horrors. But at Tarichæa the Jewish commander was strong enough to deal with these freebooters as he thought proper. He therefore attached their plunder, and dismissed themselves, despoiled of all, or of all but the silver and gold which they had previously secreted. This booty he reserved for its rightful owner; and, if the supposition be not invidious, we may surmise that a motive of policy, as well as a dictate of integrity, influenced him in so doing. His real intention, from whatever impulse it originated, he did not avow, alleging, in its stead, a reason of a more popular kind. His professed wish, to restore the booty to *Ptolemy*, he supports by an assertion which was barely true—that the Jews were forbidden to plunder an enemy! The usages of war among the Jews did not differ materially from those of the surrounding nations; and certainly their law did not forbid the appropriation or destruction of the goods of a public enemy. It is nevertheless true that many precepts of the Mosaic code enjoined a regard to the rights and welfare of a personal, or private foe.

PAGE 48.

. . . . *I determined to have recourse to a piece of hardihood.*

The discrepancies which appear in comparing the narrative of these events with that given in the *WAR* (II. xxi. 5), may be accounted for without much difficulty, on the supposition of a confused recollection of circumstances

which involved immediate peril of life. Josephus wrote—if not always with scrupulous accuracy, yet, as is evident, in the unsolicitous style of a man who confides in the truth of his main affirmations.

In relation to these differences, it is important to remark that, as the *LIFE* was composed subsequently to the *WAR*, it may be considered as containing the author's reconsidered and amended statement of events. Accordant with this circumstance is the fact, that, for the most part, the particulars affirmed in the *LIFE* have less of the air of exaggeration than those presented in the *WAR*.

Josephus, in this instance, acts in a manner which is oriental, as well as characteristic of his personal dispositions, and of his tendency to resort to stratagem: he descends from the heroic to the dramatic; nor hesitates to save himself by the compromise of his dignity as a chief. He does this to an extent which proves his command of the country to have been of the most precarious kind:—the favour of an hour was all he could rely upon; and even his body-guard had been seduced to leave their general to his fate! Energy, however, as well as craft and address, belonged to Josephus; nor did he scruple to adopt measures of extreme ferocity, when necessary for his personal safety. In the *WAR* he affirms that he flogged *several* of the insurgents, with cruel severity; in the *LIFE* he says it was *one*, selected from the number, whom he treated in this manner, and who also suffered the loss of a hand. Such barbarities have always been common in the East; nor does Josephus appear to think any apology called for on the occasion. "Such was the stratagem," he coolly says, "by which I was preserved from this second conspiracy!"

PAGE 49.

. . . . the frontiers of Hippqs

—A lofty range of country on the eastern side of the Lake of Gennesareth. These refugee chiefs, driven from the Jewish territory by the fanaticism or jealousy of the people, were thus thrown upon the mercy of king Agrippa. Of the forbearance of this prince other instances are on record, and he appears to advantage on various occasions in the history of the Jewish War. It may be well to bear in mind the circumstance, that this Agrippa, with Bernice his sister, retired to Rome, after the destruction of Jerusalem, where he spent the residue of his days; and, as we may conclude, maintained a friendly intercourse with Josephus. This circumstance deserves notice for two reasons—first, that this intimacy, continued during some years, would afford to our author the best opportunities for making himself acquainted with facts and events of which otherwise he could scarcely have obtained any information; and secondly, it should be remembered as suggesting a caution on all occasions where the king's reputation, or that of Bernice, is implicated.

The inhabitants of Tiberias

The two towns, Tiberias and Tarichæa, with the country adjoining, had been added, by the favour of Nero, to the dominions of king Agrippa ; and yet, inasmuch as they belonged to Galilee, of which the Jews were in military occupation, their allegiance depended always upon the actual presence of a force sufficient for their protection. Throughout this narrative, we find the people of these towns holding an ambiguous course, and alternating in their political relations—now, courting their sovereign, Agrippa, and professing their desire to submit to the Romans ; and again yielding themselves to the control of Josephus : in a word, siding with the strongest, for the time being. In this instance, at the moment when a Roman force was reported to be advancing, Josephus, although actually engaged in constructing fortifications at the request of the citizens, became the object of their virulent invectives ! That mode of dealing with these fickle Tiberians which had suggested itself to Josephus, but which, from a prudential motive, he hesitated to adopt, was—to let loose the armed rabble and strangers of the one town upon the other, with licence to plunder. Such was the state of this wretched country—indicated as it is by the whole tenor of the narrative.

PAGE 51.

. . . *I could not without impiety put one of my own countrymen to death . . .*

What can this mean ?—As much, perhaps, as the profession just before so coolly made—that “ it was not lawful for the Jews to plunder an enemy.” Josephus declares that he regarded it as an act—*ὀνχ ὁσίον*, “ unholy,” or such as should be condemned on some ground of religious principle. But no precept of the Mosaic law interdicted the infliction of capital punishment upon a leader of sedition, and one who had put in jeopardy the lives of many of the people. In this, and similar instances, elsewhere occurring, is to be traced the pernicious influence of those maxims of the Pharisaic policy which inclined public men, of this party, toward a weak and dangerous lenity. The Sadducees, on the contrary, rejecting, as they did altogether, the notion of *future* punishments, thought themselves compelled, in mere consistency, to visit every offence—and especially when a Jew was the culprit, with the most severe *present* chastisement. They well felt that, if men’s minds were to be relieved from all restraints of religious fear—from the dread of God’s judgment in a life to come, it would be impossible to preserve public order, or to prevent the outburst of every lawless passion, unless by the means of an inexorable severity in visiting every transgression on the spot, with a Draco’s heavy hand ;—smiting to the life, and smiting at the moment ! Such a system, it is evident, if it be not utterly impracticable in any case, could be carried out only by a government the most despotic, and which, by

a natural reaction, in rendering a people ferocious, multiplies crimes, until judges are appalled, and the executioner sickens in his office ; and it becomes necessary to convert armies into engines of civil slaughter. So it was in France, during those terrible years in which “No God,” and “no futurity,” was the creed of the state. Thus it is that impiety becomes, in a political sense, synonymous with sanguinary anarchy. On the other hand, it is manifest that a government may afford to be mild, just in proportion to the influence of religious motives among the people. But the Pharisees, whose great fault was blindness to the *relative importance* of moral obligations, were, while absurdly rigid in trifles, dangerously lax on those urgent occasions when the well-being of the social system is at stake:—they would at once exact a tithe of kitchen herbs—and let forth upon society, unpunished—a Barabbas ! We find, more than once or twice in this narrative of Josephus’s public conduct, that, while scrupling to inflict well-merited capital punishment upon the armed disturbers of the public peace, he was frequently compelled to resort to means the most ferocious for maintaining his authority ; such as flagellations, which the Law of Moses *did* forbid, and mutilations horribly savage ! These, however, were the modes and usages of the times and people, and they are not fairly to be imputed to Josephus, as an individual.

It is observed by Lightfoot (on John xviii. 31), that the absurd reluctance of the Jewish authorities—when under Pharisaic control, to inflict capital punishment upon any of “the people of God,” had produced its natural effect, in filling the country with rapine and murder. To such an extent did robbery and murder prevail, that the Sanhedrim no longer could—nor did it dare, take any sort of cognisance of these disorders:—silent *leges inter scelera*:—as to cases of uncertain homicide, there was no inquiry ; and upon known murders no judgment. The Talmudist says, “Cum viderent quod adeo multiplicati erant homicidæ, ut non possent eos judicare, dixerunt—Discedamus” This frightful condition of the Jewish people is indicated everywhere in the narrative of Josephus ; and the recollection of it serves as a comment upon the narrative of the war. To designate these troops of licensed murderers—as some recent writers have done—the “Jewish patriots,” who would have lived peaceably if Josephus had not betrayed them, is surely to go to the utmost extent of chivalrous absurdity !

PAGE 53.

. . . . *Simon was at this time at variance with me*

Our author’s enemies have affirmed, that whoever opposed him, or was his rival, is blackened by him as a monster of wickedness. Thus Basnage : “While Josephus invariably represents himself as the most upright, incorruptible, and patriotic of men, no colours are too dark for the character of his antagonist.” But we have here an instance to the contrary ; and it is a

signal one. This Simon, son of Gamaliel—a man of rank and consequence, Josephus acknowledges to have been his personal enemy, and the principal party in the endeavours then making to remove him from his government; nevertheless he is not merely—not vilified, but is mentioned in terms of high encomium—at least as to his intellectual qualities.

. . . . were I removed from Galilee

History abounds with parallel instances—especially during seasons of confusion—of this fear of the governor of a remote province, on the part of his superiors. The case is similar to many that might be cited, and the fact here acknowledged by Josephus, that a considerable party at Jerusalem desired to remove him from his government, while yet it might be practicable to do so, will not in itself warrant an inference to his disadvantage. At the same time we are far from accepting his own account of the transaction, as if it had been the report of an indifferent witness. There might be reason to apprehend that so able and politic a man, and one who was known to disapprove of the attempt to resist the power of Rome, might, when he had firmly established his authority, in so rich and populous a province as Galilee, and when he had organized an army, lead it up to the metropolis—break the disorderly forces of the factions, and then win for himself a Herod's crown, as the reward of his services.

The supposition of such a design was by no means extravagant ; and although there are no grounds for actually imputing it to Josephus, we cannot profess to think it improbable that an intention of this kind was harboured by him. The desire he manifested to compose the petty discords of the Galilean towns—to prevent the waste of blood and treasure, thence so often arising, and to recommend himself to king Agrippa and to Bernice ; as well as his exertions to fortify the towns, would not contradict such a surmise. But if a design like this had been executed—Jerusalem would have been saved from overthrow ; and the people, however rigorously dealt with, would probably have continued to occupy their soil. Another course of events was, however, to have place, and therefore Josephus, although not removed from his government by his rivals, was not suffered so to consolidate his power there, as might enable him to march—Cæsar-like, upon the Metropolis. On the contrary, he could do nothing more than maintain a precarious authority until the moment when his disorderly band was crushed by the legions led by Vespasian and Titus.

PAGE 55.

Anxious for my own safety

The phrase employed by Josephus—*περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς φροντίζοντος σωτηρίας*, might admit even of a more emphatic rendering, as if he had said—“ thinking of nothing but how to effect my escape from the impending danger.”

In truth, it would be doing our author a great injustice to accuse him of having been at any time indifferent to his personal safety. From the whole narrative we gather the opinion, that the first impulse of nature—self-preservation, was with him a foremost rule of conduct. The tidings conveyed to him by his father had shown him the extent of the danger to which he was now exposed, and he resolved to make his retreat good, while it should be possible to do so. And yet the spontaneous frankness with which he acknowledges this determination fairly entitles him to credit in stating the circumstances which afterwards induced him to abide the peril, and to maintain his position. It is to be remarked moreover, that, while on the one hand, he confesses his personal alarms, he attributes the zeal of the populace in urging his stay to no flattering motives of affection toward himself; but purely to their regard for their own security.

. . . . *a remarkable dream*

—Concerning either the reality, or the source of this dream, we shall make no inquiry. It is not to be doubted, however, that a visitation and an assurance so seasonable at this critical moment, when our author's fate depended upon the opinion of the populace in his favour, was communicated in the morning to those who would take care to repeat the auspicious tale to others. Could the upright intentions of this heaven-protected chief be questioned! and how ought the endeavours then on foot for removing him from the province to be resented! Moreover, inasmuch as he had been suspected of harbouring the design to betray his country to the Romans—a suspicion which, had it gained ground among the people, must have proved fatal to him on the spot, this “remarkable dream,” or vision, furnished a direct, and, as it seemed, a supernatural contradiction of the slanderous insinuation. Josephus betray his country to the Romans!—It is Heaven that sends him forth to fight for it! Nothing could have been more *opportune* than this vision of the night! we may therefore excuse ourselves from the task of sifting the evidence on which its reality rests.

PAGE 70.

. . . . *I would address a few words to Justus*

This Justus of Tiberias, the literary rival, as well as the political antagonist, and the bitter personal enemy of Josephus, is mentioned in the ninth section of the *LIFE*, with an acknowledgment of his ability and accomplishments, and a round assertion, moreover, of the turpitude of his dispositions, the baseness of his conduct, and the falseness of that narrative of the Jewish war which he had composed and published. To these heavy criminations—the circumstances being considered, we shall not attach implicit faith. The

History of the Jews, by this Justus, and his Annals, or Chronicle, although they have not come down to modern times, were extant in the tenth century, if not later. These writings must, soon after their appearance, have attracted attention, inasmuch as the author is familiarly mentioned by writers of the next age. Diogenes Laërtius, about a century later, in his Life of Socrates, reports an incident on the authority of this Jewish writer—"as says Justus of Tiberias, in his Stemma." *φησὶν Ἰούστος ὁ Τιβεριεύς ἐν τῷ Στέμματι*. The circumstance of this early reputation, and that he had been recognised as holding a place in the circle of Grecian literature, may also be inferred from the allusion made to him by Stephen of Byzantium, a writer of the fifth century, who, under the word TIBERIAS, in his account of cities, says,—“A city of Judæa, situated upon the lake of Gennesareth, and built by Herod. Of this city Justus was a citizen, who wrote a history of the Jewish war, in the time of Vespasian.” Whether the works of Justus had been seen by Eusebius, who mentions him as a writer, is not certain. This learned historian, in citing the closing paragraph of the ANTIQUITIES, and as it seems, the passage now before us in the LIFE, does but report the judgment of Josephus upon his rival without giving himself the pains to ascertain its correctness, which perhaps he had not the means of doing in any authentic manner. ECCLES. HIST. III. 10.

Jerome, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, assigns a place to Justus of Tiberias, of whom he says, “that he was of the province of Galilee, and also took in hand (as Josephus had done) to write a history of Jewish affairs, as well as to compile certain short commentaries—quosdam commentariolos—*τίνα ὑπομνήματα*. But this writer Josephus accuses of falsification. It is, however, certain that he wrote at the same time as Josephus.” Jerome had *probably* seen these writings, although this is not to be certainly inferred from his language. They were, however, extant in the ninth century, as appears from the account given of them by the learned and judicious Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople. The passage is as follows :—

“I have read the Chronicle of Justus of Tiberias, the title of which is—*Ἰούστου Τιβεριέως, Ἰουδαίων βασιλέων, τῶν ἐν τοῖς στέμμασιν*. He was of the city of Tiberias in Galilee. Commencing his history with Moses, he brings it down to the death of Agrippa, the seventh of the Herodian dynasty, and the last of the Jewish kings, and who, receiving his kingdom under Claudius, increased it under Nero, and still further under Vespasian. He died in the third year of Trajan, and at this point the history terminates. The method of this writer is extremely concise, so that he passes over many most important events. Himself a Jew, and labouring under the prejudices common to his nation, he makes no mention whatever of the advent of Christ, or of his history and miracles. He was the son of a Jew, named Pistus ; and—if we are to believe Josephus, he was a man of unexampled wickedness—the slave of avarice and sensuality. He took a part opposed to Josephus, against whom he contrived many plots. But Josephus, although many times he had his enemy in his power, always let him go

unharméd—with reproaches only. The history which he composed is said to be a fabrication ; especially those parts which relate to the war between the Jews and the Romans, and to the capture of Jerusalem." ART. XXXIII.

We are not to interpret Photius in this instance, as undertaking to decide upon the respective merits of the two rival Jewish historians. He simply reports the judgment that had been passed upon the one of them by the other ; and in doing so, he intimates his own hesitation, in the significant phrase—ὡς φησιν Ἰώσηπος—"so says Josephus !" It appears, however, from this passage, that Justus survived to a late period, and might be actually residing at Rome at the time when Josephus composed this Life of himself :—the personal address, therefore, which he uses, and which sounds uncouthly, if we suppose the object of it to have been dead at the time, may have had a direct meaning—"I would address a few words to Justus"—and again—"How then, Justus—that I may address him *as present*."

But the circumstance that his rival and personal enemy was then living—and perhaps frequenting the literary circles at Rome, or making a figure in those of Alexandria, may very properly be regarded as having constituted a check upon our author, in compiling his own history of the war ; for he could not doubt that any flagrant departure from truth would be eagerly caught at by his adversary, and exhibited to his disadvantage. False as might be the memoirs of Justus, Josephus must know that truth would be his own best defence against the insinuations of such an opponent.

In the criminative address to his enemy, now before us, Josephus confidently appeals to the published "Commentaries" of the Emperor Vespasian, as well as to other unimpeachable documents, which he would scarcely have ventured to do, unless well assured of the correctness of his allegations. Nor can we doubt that his narrative of the Jewish war, was, as he declares it to have been, accredited and sanctioned by the principal persons who had been therein immediately concerned. And if we may rely upon the genuineness of the two notes from Agrippa, they must be regarded as carrying great weight, in relation to all that portion of the history of which this prince had a personal—or a not very remote knowledge.

These two notes, as here cited by our author, claim some attention. Agrippa is supposed to have died at Rome, A.D. 90 ; but Josephus speaks of him as deceased at the time when he wrote : he also alleges the fact, which Justus had professed, namely, that the history so tardily published by him, had been composed twenty years ; and allowing some time to have elapsed between the destruction of Jerusalem, and the moment when Justus commenced his task, and again an interval between the death of Agrippa, and the publication of this history, and yet another between the publication of the history of Justus, and that of the Life of Josephus, this last event must be placed near the end of Domitian's reign, and twenty-four, or twenty-five years subsequent to the overthrow of the Jewish polity. The History of the War had, however, been in the hands of the author's friends some years previously to this date, and at a time when many therein concerned were

still living. Whether they were persons *able*, or if able, willing, effectively to contradict any misstatements of facts, is more than we can certainly affirm. Agrippa, if these notes be genuine (and there is no positive ground for questioning them) did not think his friend's work open to any material exceptions. The first of them indicates the fact—and it is important—that *several* narratives of the Jewish war had already appeared, and which, in the judgment of Agrippa, were all inferior in accuracy to that of Josephus. This first note acknowledges a *first portion*—τῆς βίβλου—and asks that the remaining portions, or books, might be sent to him—πέμπε δέ μοι καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς. The second note was probably written in acknowledgment, either of the whole, or of a principal part of the subsequent history; and in this, Agrippa, while admitting the general competency of Josephus to the task he had undertaken, intimates that there were yet *many* circumstances, πολλὰ, with which he had not become fully acquainted, and which the king promises to communicate in a private conference. Now this clause in the second note furnishes an indirect attestation of the genuineness of the letter itself; for Josephus voluntarily produces a letter from a personage of high rank, which, while it pronounces a general commendation upon the work, conveys the less flattering intimation that there were still “many things,” relating to the subjugation of Judæa, concerning which the author was uninformed. This qualified approval, from a man so judicious, and so well informed—and so well disposed toward the Jewish people, is certainly entitled to great weight, as a warranty of the general veracity and accuracy of our author's History of the War.

PAGE 77.

. . . . *Vespasian . . . arrived in Tyre.*

A new order of events now commences. Hitherto the Romans, content to leave the infatuated Jewish people to weaken themselves by their destructive feuds—city against city, and the predatory bands against all—had merely maintained their position, as masters of the coast, while king Agrippa, from his territory beyond the Jordan, watched the insurgent province—Galilee, and stood ready to afford aid to such of the towns as sought for it at his hands. But this state of confusion, during which the majesty of the Roman empire was insulted by the unpunished rebellion of a province so important, was to have its limits; and it had become the more necessary to bring the insurrection to a speedy end, because the peace of the empire was then threatened on several sides; nor could its sullen master conceal from those around him the perplexities that distracted his bosom.

Our Josephus clearly understood what must be the result of the arrival of Vespasian; and that for himself, and his deluded countrymen, the only point undetermined, was that of a less or a more cruel fate—death, or slavery! The Roman general advanced, unresisted, into the heart of Galilee; and Josephus, whatever might be the numbers that were nominally under his

command, knew that nothing remained for him but to shut himself up in the only fortress of Galilee in which he might possibly withstand awhile the impetus of the legions. Thither, therefore, he hurried; and for the events of the following weeks we are referred to the History of the War. After making this reference, he proceeds very summarily to report what concerns himself alone, up to the period when this memoir was composed.

PAGE 79.

. . . . *I made request to Titus on their behalf*

The extent of the favours which Josephus might feel himself free to solicit from the conqueror, in behalf of his countrymen, being limited—how largely soever he might ask for himself—it was only natural that he should employ this parsimonious grace for the release of his relations and personal friends. Probably it was not in his power to divert, or even to soften the revenge of Titus; revenge not indeed unusual in similar instances of national resistance, but which was indulged to the full when the unhappy Jews were to expiate their heavy offences!

Another question, however, presents itself—Whether a man of deep and generous feeling could have brought himself to accept personal favours from the hand of the inexorable destroyer of his people and country? Josephus might deem the pitiless sale of thousands of his countrymen into distant lands, and the horrid deaths inflicted upon thousands of them at home, a visitation not heavier than the guilt in which they had implicated themselves merited! Be it so; and yet a man is always free to express his sympathy with his guilty and suffering kindred, by modestly declining the honours and the wealth that are proffered him by their gory executioner.

Although we must accept the unvouched-for word of Josephus as to the fact, we can readily believe that he did and that he felt as much as he here professes, and that he used his interest with Titus in behalf of his friends as far as he thought it safe to attempt any such interposition; and we can believe that any further intervention on his part would have been as unavailing as he thought it perilous. But it remains certain, and by his own account, that he did accept, and that he continued to enjoy, the favours of the relentless men who had crushed and trampled in the dust the prostrate Judæa! All is, however, historically consistent in these incidents. Josephus did not disown his people; on the contrary, as a learned and literary man, and when the time came that he could do so in perfect security, he employed himself in recommending their institutions to the favour of the polished world: and as an historian, he adheres, in the main, to truth; but nature had not bestowed upon him the nobler qualities of the soul, in any remarkable degree; nor does it appear that his sense of religion was of that vivid kind which might supply the want of native generous sentiments. Josephus, according to his own statement, became wealthy by successive grants of

land in Galilee and Judæa ;—a property, we may say, which must bear a heavy rent-charge, payable out of the funds of his reputation, to the end of time !

PAGE 80.

. . . . *my domestic history.*

The events of this “domestic history” are not of worse complexion than was characteristic of Jewish and Rabbinical manners at this time ; but they are not of better. By means of corrupt glosses, and of actual falsifications of the text of Scripture, on the part of the blind and profligate Traditionists who then ruled the national conscience, the marriage tie had become almost nugatory, and the inevitable consequence—an extreme corruption of manners, had followed. The Jewish women boldly challenged to themselves the privilege of “departing” from their husbands ; while the men, at the impulse of every caprice, were accustomed to divorce their wives.

This “domestic history” supplies, by implication, a sufficient contradiction of the surmise entertained by some, that Josephus, although from motives of policy he carefully concealed the fact, had become a convert to Christianity ; for the very lowest rate of Christian profession would have forbidden him this liberty of divorce ; or at least, it would have precluded the open avowal of the fact in his memoir. He speaks of these things as if altogether unconscious of wrong ; and thus indicates very plainly the fact, that his Pharisaic and Rabbinical notions had not in any degree been disturbed by even a partial submission to a purer moral code.

. . . . *Domitian and Domitia*

The motives of the favour shown to Josephus by Domitian and his consort, as they cannot be known, ought not perhaps to be surmised. This tyrant’s inexorable hatred of learned men and astrologers, and his rude contempt of literature, would seem to have rendered our author’s credit at court very precarious ; and yet, what is affirmed by Suetonius may justify the conjecture, that fertile as he had ever been in catching at the means of personal safety and advancement, he had found opportunity to get himself usefully employed—instead of strangled—by the emperor.

Domitian, says Suetonius, “*liberalia studia in initio imperii neglexit, quanquam bibliothecas incendio absumptas*” (the fire probably which is mentioned by Dio Cassius, as happening in the preceding reign) “*impen-sissime reparare curasset, exemplaribus undique petitis : missisque Alexandriam, qui describerent, emendarentque.*” c. 23. On this ground we are free to assume the probability, that Josephus, whose extensive learning—Grecian and oriental, was well known at court, would find it easy to proffer to the emperor his valuable services in collecting copies of standard works, and in collating such as were brought from all parts to supply the place of those

that had been consumed. He does not indeed mention his having been sent to Alexandria on this errand ; but it is highly probable that he might be concerned in directing the mission, and in examining the works procured thence. This supposition may, at the least, suffice for excluding one that would be less favourable to his reputation. It is affirmed by Philostratus (*Life of Apollonius Tyanæus*, l. vii. c. 4), that, under Domitian's 'reign of terror,' philosophy was dismayed, and that the philosophers, "laying aside their garb, fled, some to the remotest parts of Gaul, some to the deserts of Libya, or of Scythia, while some (not our Josephus, we may hope) sought safety in professing the profligate doctrines of the court !"

As to the unhappy Domitia—now repudiated, and anon—a heavier misfortune—recalled to the rights and the humiliations of a wife—quasi efflagitante populo, reduxit—it is easy to believe, that an accomplished man like Josephus, gifted, moreover, with tact and suppleness, and who had early learned, in the court of Poppæa, how to please and to amuse, would recommend himself by the same means to another personage occupying a similar position, and equally unhappy as a wife.—*εἶτα δεηθέντος τοῦ δήμου κατηλλάγη μὲν τῇ Δομιτίᾳ, ἐχρήτο δ' οὐδὲν ἡττον τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ.*—DIO CASSIUS, (or ZONARAS.)

. . . . *Epaphroditus*

Who was this friend and patron of Josephus ? If this could be ascertained, some light would be thrown upon the subject now particularly before us—the personal character and credit of Josephus ; that is to say—if it be true, that a man may be known by his associates. Josephus salutes his friend as *κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν*—best of men, a form of address which recalls that employed by St. Luke, *κράτιστε Θεόφιλε* ; but which in the dedication of the Acts, the inspired writer reduces to the simple vocative—*ὦ Θεόφιλε*. In the exordium of the second book against Apion, this friend and patron is again addressed, and as his "most honoured"—or, "very dear Epaphroditus"—*τιμιώτατέ μοι Ἐπαφρόδιτε* : and in the Preface to the Antiquities he is—not addressed, but spoken of—in terms of the highest commendation. Our author had, he says, resumed with spirit his arduous labours in compiling that work, "at the instigation of several persons, but chiefly of Epaphroditus—a man eager in pursuit of every branch of learning, but especially of history ;—he himself having been long concerned with affairs of state, and having had personal experience of many changes ; under all exhibiting an admirable energy of nature, and an immovable adherence to what is virtuous and noble."

It has been affirmed by some of the editors of Josephus, that this, his distinguished friend, was that Epaphroditus who is mentioned by Dio Cassius, Tacitus, and Suetonius, as having been the freedman of Nero, and the secretary of Domitian, and who was put to death by that tyrant in the year preceding his own, on the allegation of his having assisted in effecting the suicide of his master. But this assumed identity, although it seems

otherwise probable, is not to be reconciled with the fact of his being addressed as living, by Josephus, in the treatise against Apion ; and this, both at the commencement of the second book, and in the closing sentence of it. Now the ANTIQUITIES having been completed, as the author declares, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian, A.D. 93—the War eighteen years earlier—the Memoir of his Life some time subsequently, and the Books against Apion, last, and, as it appears, after some considerable interval, we should be carried forward to the early years of Trajan's reign—that is to say, three or four years after the death of that Epaphroditus who is mentioned by the writers just referred to. That the freedman of Nero is the Epaphroditus (and the Epaphras) mentioned and commended by St. Paul, there seems some reason to believe ; and that the same was the master and patron of Epictetus, the philosopher. A general resemblance of character appears to connect these scattered notices of the person, as well as several points of historical coincidence. Whether the chronological difficulty, above mentioned, be absolutely insuperable, we shall not spend time in attempting to decide. Yet if the identity of St. Paul's friend, and of the patron of Josephus might be assumed, the divinely-sanctioned reputation of this person must be allowed to lend a good degree of credit to our author, and to his writings ;—for it appears that this Epaphroditus allowed himself to be thus addressed by the Jewish writer, in repeated instances, and during a long course of years.

. . . . *close my narrative.*

No certain information concerning our author's last years is to be collected from any extant sources. When his patrons of the Flavian family had fallen, and when “a new king arose which knew not Joseph”—Nerva, and then Trajan, he probably found his position at Rome precarious, and unless we suppose the grant of lands in Judæa to have been rescinded, he would naturally repair to his native country, where—still protected, as we may believe, by the Roman authorities, he might the most securely end his days. The manner in which he speaks of Domitian, and of Domitia, seems to imply that both were deceased at the time when he wrote. The same may be inferred, with some certainty, from the passage in which he upbraids his rival, Justus, who had withheld his history of the Jewish War, until *all* those public persons were dead who might have convicted him of misrepresentation ;—but Domitian, the son of Vespasian, and brother of Titus, was one of these, and he was far more to be dreaded than was either his father or brother. It may be concluded as certain, that a writer so thoroughly Jewish as was Justus, and a professed hater of the Romans, would not incur the risk of publishing a history of the fall of his country, during the life of the brother of its conqueror. Besides—Justus professed, when he published his history, that it had already been written twenty years. Now we must suppose two or three years to have elapsed after the devastation of Judæa, before this writer could have found the leisure to commence his history ;

and two or three more, for the actual composition of it: we shall thus be brought to the period in question—that of the extinction of the Flavian family. A year or two more may well be supposed to have intervened before Josephus could be prepared to publish his own Life:—again another interval allowed for the books against Apion; and thus we find Josephus living, and in the full possession of his intellectual energy, at about the sixty-fourth year of his age, A.D. 102. Neither tradition nor conjecture enables us to trace him to a later date.

It must have been immediately after his obtaining a tranquil establishment at Rome, under the shelter of Vespasian's favour, that Josephus addressed himself to the task of composing the history of the more recent misfortunes, and the overthrow of his country. This work, entitled, *THE JEWISH WAR, OR THE JEWISH HISTORY CONCERNING THE CAPTURE (of Jerusalem)*, was completed, if not given to the world, during the reign of Vespasian, and before the death of Agrippa; and therefore not much later than A.D. 75; or five years after the conclusion of the war. An earlier date can scarcely be assigned to it, considering the extent and difficulty of the work, and the fact, moreover, that it had been written, as he informs us, in Hebrew, or rather, the Syro-Chaldaic, which was then spoken by his countrymen—whence it was translated into Greek, with the aid of some persons better qualified than he then could be, to reach the purity and propriety which the “Jewish War” actually exhibits. His having received this kind of aid he candidly acknowledges in the latest of his writings—the treatise against Apion; an extract from which will be appropriate in this place. Having spoken of Jewish histories—canonical and common, Josephus says:—

“As for myself, I have written a particular account of the (late) war, strictly in accordance with the facts of which I had personal knowledge; for I commanded in Galilee against the Romans, whom we withstood as long as it was possible. When taken prisoner by them I was compelled to attend Vespasian and Titus; at first in bonds; but afterwards being set at large, I accompanied the latter when he advanced from Alexandria to carry on the siege of Jerusalem. During the period of the siege nothing escaped my observation; and as to what occurred under my eye in the Roman camp, I carefully noted it; while it was I alone who understood the reports made by deserters from the city. Afterwards, when enjoying leisure at Rome, and having all my materials in readiness, I engaged the assistance of persons competent in the Greek language, by whose aid I composed my history. Confident of the truth and accuracy of what I had written, I did not scruple to submit it, in the first instance, to those who had commanded in the war—namely, Vespasian and Titus; and to whom I appealed as my witnesses. To these imperial persons, I say, the first copies of the work

were presented, and afterwards to many of the Romans, who also had acted a part in the war. Moreover, I disposed of many copies—*ἐκίρασκον*—to such of my countrymen as were conversant with Greek literature; and among these were Julius Archelaus, and the venerable Herod, and the most admirable king Agrippa. All these bore testimony to my strict regard to truth, and if through ignorance or partiality I had misrepresented or omitted facts, they would neither have dissembled, nor have repressed their opinion."

We have already noticed the qualified approval of Agrippa, as reported by Josephus himself, and it is certain that, when, after the lapse of years, he passed over the same ground in the concluding portion of the *Antiquities*, and in the *Life* of himself, he reduced many of his earlier statements of facts within more modest limits, and tacitly corrected many errors. That he did so, is surely to his credit, and it should be regarded as the indication, at least, of an honest purpose.

Soon after the publication of the *WAR*, Josephus must have commenced his more laborious work,—*THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, in which, as he acknowledges, he advanced languidly, and therefore slowly, until urged to quicken his pace by his friends, and especially by his patron, Epaphroditus. This work was completed, as he tells us, in the thirteenth year of Domitian (A.D. 93). He had then reached the fifty-sixth year of his age. In concluding the *ANTIQUITIES*, the author professes his intention to compile a memoir of his family, and of his own-life, as a proper appendix to that work. In the *LIFE* which is now before the reader, this purpose is accomplished. The two books against Apion and others, who had laboured to derogate from the honours of his people, were the last written of his extant works, and did not appear (as we have already stated) until some time after the accession of Trajan. The small treatise entitled, "A discourse concerning the Maccabees," and which has passed under the name of Josephus, is, on very sufficient grounds, adjudged to be spurious.

The writings of the Jewish historian have been very frequently mentioned and cited by ancient writers, from the date, almost, of their appearance, and onward in regular succession. Of these "Testimonies," as they are called, the reader may expect some account. They are as ample and satisfactory as most of those which attest the antiquity and genuineness of the remains of ancient literature. Suetonius—(Vespasian, c. 5), enumerates the many omens and presages which had kindled the ambition of Vespasian, or had served to prepare him for his high fortune. Among these, he mentions the response he obtained from an oracle of Mount Carmel—*Carmeli Dei oraculum*—a *pagan* oracle unquestionably, (notwithstanding the endeavours of the Carmelites to establish the contrary,) assuring him that the highest thoughts which his ambition might entertain, should be realized. "More-

over," adds the historian, "Josephus, one of the captives of noble rank, and who was then in bonds, confidently affirmed that he should speedily be released by him (Vespasian) as emperor." Suetonius was the contemporary of Josephus—surviving him a few years, and he might probably have received this, and other facts connected with Jewish affairs, from our author personally.

A few years later than Suetonius, Justin Martyr, the Christian philosopher, composed his "Exhortation to the Greeks," in which he appeals to the evidence of the two Jewish writers, Philo and Josephus, as well known to those whom he addresses. The latter plainly indicates, says Justin, that the institutions of his people were *ancient*, by the very title of his work, which runs thus—"Jewish Antiquities, by Flavius Josephus;" and again in the context—"Philo and Josephus, the learned historians, who have written of Jewish affairs;" and a little further, "Philo and Josephus, those intelligent and approved writers, who have treated of these things."

To Justin Martyr, succeeds, immediately, the learned Christian Father, Irenæus, whose mode of citing Josephus seems to indicate that already his works had become generally known. The passage is from a fragment, found only in a MS. of the Imperial Library at Vienna. "Josephus affirms that Moses having been brought up in the palace (of Pharaoh) was chosen—*χειροτονηθεὶς*—general, against the Ethiopians, and having vanquished them he married the daughter of the (Ethiopian) king, who for the love she bore him, surrendered to him the state—*πόλιν*." This citation is from the *ANTIQUITIES*, II. c. x.

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, and a man of extensive learning, addressed his Three Books in defence of Christianity to the heathen Autolycus, about A.D. 170; or less than eighty years after the death of Josephus. This writer, having referred to the testimony of Manetho the Egyptian, and Menander the Ephesian, adds—"and Josephus, who composed a history of the Jewish war with the Romans."

The learned Clement of Alexandria flourished only a few years later than the writer last named; he cites Josephus, *Strom.* i., in the course of an exposition of Daniel's prophecy of the "seventy weeks," in these terms: "and Flavius Josephus, the Jew, who compiled the history of Jewish affairs, collating the times, says that from Moses to David, &c."

Tertullian, the contemporary of Clement, in his "Apology," addressed to the heathen, briefly mentions our author; but the terms in which he does so are important, as showing the light in which he was viewed at so early a time. Tertullian, after enumerating the writers—oriental and Grecian, whose writings might be adduced in support of what he had affirmed, adds—*et qui istos aut probat, aut revincit, Judæus Josephus, antiquitatum Judaicarum VERNACULUS VINDEX*. Our Josephus was then accounted the "home-born champion" of the Jewish people, by a writer so well informed as Tertullian.

Dio Cassius, who flourished in the early part of the third century,

frequently cites Josephus. That portion of his work which is extant in the abridgement of Xiphilinus, contains not merely many facts which probably were derived from our author's pages, but a report of that first interview with Vespasian, on which the fate of Josephus depended. Among the circumstances which had indicated the high fortune of the emperor, this was one, says Dio, that "Josephus, a Jew who had been taken prisoner by him, and bound, smiled (when brought before him) and said—Now indeed you bind me, but a year hence, you—then emperor, will release me."

Minutius Felix, the accomplished Christian apologist, finds occasion, in the course of his erudite confutation of heathenism, to appeal to the history of the Jews, and enjoins his antagonist to peruse the writings of that people; or, if he preferred the Roman writers (those who wrote for the Roman public, whether employing the Latin or Greek language) passing more ancient; "examine the works of Flavius Josephus, or of Antonius Julianus."—XXXIII.

Origen, by far the most erudite of the early Christian writers, often quotes our author, and in two instances so quotes him as almost to exclude the supposition of the genuineness of that celebrated passage (Antiq. XVIII. iii. 3), in which the Saviour Christ is distinctly mentioned. These references occur in the Treatise against Celsus, I. c. xlvii., and in the Commentary upon the Gospel of Matthew, X. c. xvii. Referring to St. James, called the Just, Origen says, "Such was his reputation among the people, for virtue—*δικαιοσύνη*, that Flavius Josephus, who wrote of the Jewish Antiquities in twenty books, wishing to assign a reason for the calamities of his people and the destruction of the temple, affirms that their overthrow was divinely inflicted as a punishment for their guilty behaviour towards James, the brother of Jesus, who is called—the Christ. Strange is it," adds Origen, "that this writer who would not admit our Jesus to be the Christ, should nevertheless render such a testimony to the virtue of James!"

Porphyry, the adversary of the Christian faith, writing a few years later than Origen, in his Treatise *de Abstinentiâ*, IV. § 11, refers very distinctly, though briefly, to our author's writings; designating them in their order. Speaking of the three Jewish sects, and particularly of the Essenes, this writer says: "These, the third sect, followed a course of life which is described by Josephus in several places of his writings; as for instance, in the second book of his Jewish history (the War), which he embraces in seven books: and in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, which are comprised in twenty books; and in the second of the two books addressed to the Greeks" (against Apion).

Thus it appears that at the close of the third century, and indeed at an earlier period, the writings of Josephus—namely, the JEWISH WAR, the ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, and the Two Books AGAINST APION, were well known to the learned world, and were customarily cited as the most authentic sources of information, relating to Jewish affairs.

From this era, onward, the references to Josephus, especially by the Christian writers—the Fathers, are very frequent, and many of them are precise ; but it would be superfluous to adduce these later testimonies in this place, inasmuch as the *early* quotations are those alone to which, in a literary sense, much importance attaches.

Nevertheless, it may be well to place before the reader the opinion entertained of Josephus by Jerome, by a great deal the most learned and competent of the Fathers. In one place—*Epist. ad Marcellum*, Jerome cites Josephus, designating him as—vernaculus scriptor Judæorum ; in another—*Epist. ad Eustochium*, he calls him the “Grecian Livy.” In the Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, his works are enumerated : “Josephus, son of Matthias, a priest of Jerusalem, having been made prisoner by Vespasian, was left with his son Titus ; and afterwards coming to Rome, presented his Seven Books concerning the Jewish capture to the two emperors—father and son, who consigned them to the public library. Such was his reputation that a statue was erected to his honour. He moreover composed twenty books of Antiquities, commencing from the creation of the world, and continued to the fourteenth year of the reign of Domitian, and two books, also archæological, against Apion, a grammarian of Alexandria, who had been sent to Caligula, as ambassador on the part of the Gentiles, and had written a book against Philo, derogatory to the Jewish people.”

CRITICAL NOTES ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE JEWISH WAR.

BOOK IV. ch. viii. § 1. *πυρὶ δὲ αὐτήν τε κ.τ.λ.* (7 in Cardwell.)—The printed editions have a comma after *ἀνελών*, and join *τὰ περίξ τῆς Ἰδ.* with *φρούρια* ; but it seems better, with the Latin version of Rufinus, to place the comma after *Ἰδουμαίας*, and translate as in the text. Some of the MSS. have *μὲν* after *φρούρια*, and Rufinus has “*castella quidem* ;”—a reading which evidently requires the construction given above. The Idumæa here mentioned, called also the Greater Idumæa (iv. 9. 4.), and which was one of the toparchies into which Judæa was divided (see iii. 3. 5.), embraced the whole southern region as far north as Hebron (iv. 9. 7.), or even Thekoa (iv. 9. 5.)

Ch. viii. § 3. *τῶν μὲν δαψιλέστερον κ.τ.λ.* (24 in Cardwell.)—If the reading of the MSS. *τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὀλίγου [ἢ χορηγία] δαψιλῆς*, be correct, the translation in the text seems to be the only admissible one ; *τῶν μὲν* being opposed to *τούτου δὲ*, and having the same reference as *τῶν μέχρι κύρου χρονιζόντων* ; and *δαψιλέστερον χρωμένων* being taken absolutely. But Rufinus appears to have had a different reading. “Those lands which have

a more abundant supply of it, derive but little benefit therefrom; but those which use it more sparingly derive very great benefit."

Ch. ix. § 2. Nero was emperor from October 13, A.D. 54, to June 9, A.D. 68, which gives 13 years and nearly 8 *months*. But the MSS. of Josephus agree as in the text. Galba was murdered Jan. 15, A.D. 69. Sailing "through Achaia" means across the isthmus of Corinth, by the canal begun by Nero, or by transporting the vessels overland.

Ch. ix. § 9. Otho's death took place April 16, A.D. 69.

Ch. x. § 4.—The temple of Onias must have been founded about 170 B.C. It would therefore be in existence about 243 years, not 343, as here stated.

Ch. x. § 5. ἡς κρατήσας, εἰ παρέλκοι κ.τ.λ. (21 in Cardwell.) The meaning of παρέλκοι is not very obvious. Perhaps it would be better to take it in the sense suggested by Cardwell, (see his note on the passage,) only making Vespasian, not Vitellius, the subject, and joining καὶ βίᾳ with καθαιρήσειν, as is done by Rufinus. The meaning will then be:—"He hoped, if he spun out the war," or, "by spinning out the war, to conquer Vitellius, even in spite of all he could do."

Ch. xi. § 4. Apellæus 3 = Nov. 5, A.D. 69. The MSS. of Josephus agree in giving this; but the true date of the death of Vitellius is Dec. 20 or 21. Norisius (de Anno et Epochis Syro-Macedonum) supposes Josephus to have, in this instance, reckoned by the Tyrian Calendar, which was in use in many cities of Syria, and in which Apell. 3 = Dec. 20. But it seems more likely to be a mistake either of Josephus or of the scribes.

BOOK V. ch. iv. § 2. τὸ ὕψος πλεῖον μὲν κ.τ.λ. (21 in Cardwell.)—The structure of the sentence (πλεῖον μὲν . . . αὐθις δέ) shows that the meaning is as given in the translation:—i.e. if Agrippa's design had been carried out, the wall would have attained a greater height—not than the ten cubits of breadth just before mentioned—but than the twenty cubits of height, which it subsequently attained. The καίτοι (= καίπερ in Josephus, when used with a participle) indicates the same, viz. that the height of twenty cubits was nothing very great.

Ch. iv. § 4. τετείχιστο μὲν ἅπασα κ.τ.λ. (41, 42, in Cardwell.)—The translation here given, which agrees with the Latin version of Rufinus, is probably the true one. The Greek, as it stands, is scarcely intelligible; but by transposing κύκλῳ κατ' ἴσον διάστημα after διείληπτο, it would give the meaning in the text.

Ch. vi. § 3. "*The son is coming.*"—Ὁ υἱὸς is the reading of all the MSS. and of Rufinus; and it is not easy to conceive how such a singular reading should be found in all, if it were not the true one. Nor are the alterations proposed at all satisfactory. ὁ ἰὸς would give "the arrow," not "the stone." ὁ λίθος is without authority. Cardwell proposes οὗτος, "here it comes." Reland's explanation is probably not far from the truth, viz. "that the cry was πᾶς ἰὸς, "the stone is coming;" but that some, deceived by the similarity of sound, took it to be πᾶς υἱὸς, "the son is coming." From such

a mistake as this, or from some other cause, the term "the son" might come to be applied as a nickname.

Ch. vii. § 1. "*Were long in a state of anxious suspense.*"—This translation agrees with the version of Rufinus. The Greek is ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀποδύρομενοι διεφέροντο. It would be better to take διεφέροντο, as in v. 2. 5. (ἄλλος ἀλλαχῇ διεφέροντο). It might be translated:—"For a long time they continued running up and down, bemoaning themselves."

Ch. viii. § 2. "*As a mere burden.*"—ὥσπερ βάρος appears to be the true reading, and not ὥσπερ βάρβαρον. The former is found in some MSS. and was evidently read by Rufinus, who has "velut onus quoddam."

BOOK VI. ch. iv. § 5. καθ' ἣν καὶ τὸ πρότερον κ.τ.λ. (31 in Cardwell.)—Compare 2 Kings xxv. 8, 9; Jer. lii. 12, 13; in the first of which passages the 7th, in the second the 10th, day of the 5th month (*i. e.* Ab or Loüs) is mentioned as the day on which "came Nebuzar-adan, and burnt the house of the Lord," &c. Evidently he may have come on the 7th and set fire to the temple on the 10th.

Loüs 10, A.D. 70 = Aug. 5.

Ch. iv. § 8. The numbers in this section give, for the date of the first foundation of the temple B.C. 1062-1; for the date of its rebuilding B.C. 570. The true dates are B.C. 1011—1004, and B.C. 536; the latter being the second year of Cyrus. Haggai, however, prophesied in the second year of Darius. (Hagg. i. 1.)

Ch. v. § 1. "*The city beyond.*"—This seems to be the meaning of ἡ περαιὰ here; the term being used in its original sense, *i. e.* not as a proper name, but as descriptive of situation:—"that which lies on the other side of anything,"—a river, a channel, or, as here, a valley,—the valley, that is, of the cheese-makers. Or it might be applied to the country on the other side of the brook Kedron; but can scarcely be understood of Peræa, so called, beyond the Jordan.

Ch. ix. § 3. $10 \times 256,500$ gives, of course, 2,565,000, not 2,700,000; but in which of the two numbers the error lies, it is impossible to determine. The Greek MSS. and Rufinus all agree, except that one or two of the former have 255,600 instead of 256,500.

Ch. x. § 1. Gorpæus 8 = Sept. 2, A.D. 70.

The figures in this section give the following dates:—

B.C. 2103. First foundation of Jerusalem.

B.C. 1110. David king in Jerusalem.

B.C. 639. Jerusalem taken by Nebuchadnezzar.

The last date should correspond with $477\frac{1}{2}$ years after David (μετ' αὐτόν); which it would do, if these years were reckoned from the beginning of David's reign, $7\frac{1}{2}$ years before he took Jerusalem. But the words of Josephus seem to give the reign in that city as the starting-point of both the calculations from the time of David; in which case there is a discrepancy of seven years. The Bible chronology gives:—

B.C. 1048. David king in Jerusalem.

B.C. 588. Jerusalem taken by Nebuchadnezzar.

It will be seen that the date which Josephus here assigns to the reign of David, is perfectly consistent with the date of the building of the temple deduced from VI. iv. 8.

Book VII. ch. iii. § 1.—Domitian's birth-day was Oct. 24th ; Vespasian's November 17th.

Ch. iv. § 1. "*Beheld with satisfaction.*" λαβεῖν . . . αἰσθησιν ἡδεῖαν.—This reading, which corresponds to the "jucundam" of Rufinus, is adopted from Hudson by Richter and Dindorf. The MSS. have ἰδίαν, which seems scarcely intelligible.

Ch. v. § 1. Other accounts make the river flow during six days and rest on the seventh ; and various changes have been proposed, in order to bring the text of Josephus into accordance with their statement. But all the MSS., with the Latin version of Rufinus, agree as in the text ; and such being the case, it is hazardous to make any alteration.

Ch. vi. § 6. Before the outbreak of the war, the Procurator had the command of the forces as well as the civil government ; but during the war the two offices appear to have been kept distinct. Marcus Antonius Julianus is mentioned as Procurator during the siege of Jerusalem (VI. iv. 3.) When Liberius Maximus succeeded him does not appear ; but he was evidently in office A.D. 72. Terentius Rufus, Cerealius Vitellianus, Lucilius Bassus, and Flavius Silva, are mentioned as successively commanders of the forces after the capture of Jerusalem.

Ch. vii. § 1. The fourth year of Vespasian began July, A.D. 72.

Ch. viii. § 7. τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας κ.τ.λ. (116 in Cardw.)—The MSS. vary a good deal in this sentence. From the version of Rufinus it would appear that he read τοῖς δὲ . . . ἀραμένοις ἅπασι τῶν ἐλπίδα νίκης ἐχυρᾶς παρασχεῖν ἐνναμένων ὑπῆρξε. "All those who engaged in the war in their own country, had abundance of such resources as might lead them to hope for certain victory." All the Greek MSS., however, have οὐχ before ὑπῆρξεν : in other respects they favour this reading as much as any other. The text as given by Cardwell is barely intelligible. But see his note on the passage.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF EVENTS, NARRATED IN THE SEVEN BOOKS OF THE JEWISH WAR.

Book I.

It was not so much the history of his nation, as the final catastrophe of the Jewish polity, that Josephus proposed to himself as his subject in this

work; and therefore the whole of the FIRST BOOK, as well as a portion of the SECOND, are to be regarded as only a condensed summary of those events and circumstances without a knowledge of which the last struggle of the Jewish people with the Roman power could not be well understood, or was not likely to be duly thought of by those for whom especially he wrote, namely—the readers of Greek, throughout the Roman world.

This preliminary narrative is therefore a hastily composed sketch of the events of only 234 years; nor is it free from frequent inaccuracies, such as are wont to attach to a cursory glance at the wars, institutions, and revolutions of a troubled period. Josephus at a later time, and when he enjoyed more leisure, and after he had made himself better acquainted than at first with his subject, compiled that history of the Jews which has come down to us in the twenty books of the ANTIQUITIES. In this later, and more carefully composed work, the errors into which he had fallen *in the preliminary portion* of the WARS OF THE JEWS, are—most of them—corrected, while the narrative is given in a much more amplified form. This enlarged history, a summary of which fills the first book of the WARS OF THE JEWS, occupies the last six books of the ANTIQUITIES. His first Book of the Wars embraces a period of 164 years, preceding the Christian era. It opens with the taking of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes in the year B.C. 168.

Within this period of more than a century and a half, the Jewish people—not as a race, but as a nation—had passed through many political revolutions. Occupying, as it did, a narrow territory, which, from its position, and even from its natural advantages, rendered it always the battle-field of the rival monarchies of Egypt and Syria, this people, in temper far from passively subservient to foreign domination, was rendered by its religious prerogatives, and by its vivid consciousness of them, a most impracticable portion of any extended empire. On all these accounts, therefore, it had encountered more than an ordinary share of national calamity. Even if the Jewish people had shown themselves the most abject and submissive of the human race, they must still have borne the stress of the almost incessant wars that raged between “the kings of the north and of the south.” But they suffered doubly, or in a much larger ratio, as perhaps the most high-spirited, if not turbulent people on the face of the earth; and again, their national woes were deepened by their profession of a doctrine, and by their adherence to a worship, which the polytheistic world could neither understand, nor would endure.

At the moment when the history now before us opens its first page, the Syrian portion of Alexander’s disjointed empire was held by Antiochus IV. surnamed Epiphanes; the Egyptian portion by Ptolemy VI. surnamed Philometor, whom Josephus reports to have been then contending for the possession of Syria. Antiochus, having been compelled, by the intervention of Rome, to retire from Egypt, which he had invaded a fourth time,—B.C. 168,—returned with his forces through Palestine, where he vented his anger upon the Jewish people, and at the same time that he used, as a

pretext against them, the pleasure they had seemed to take in his late reverses, he sought to replenish his exhausted treasury by the spoils of the temple at Jerusalem.

But the ferocious and fanatical temper of the Syrian king impelled him to attempt, not merely the national subjugation of the Jewish people, but the destruction or extirpation of their religious rites and belief, and the substitution among them of the polytheism of Greece—its rites, its manners, and its philosophy.

In the prosecution of this design he refrained from no atrocities. His generals and officers, at his command, put in practice every refinement of cruelty. Many of the people, in whose minds the doctrine of Moses, and the rites of the Law, had already lost a firm hold, surrendered their wavering convictions at the first brunt of persecution. But it was not so with others; and these were not a few—priests and people—who, with a noble and pious constancy, maintained their profession, “not accepting deliverance,” but choosing rather to die, tormented, than to apostatise.

The religious constancy of the Jewish martyrs at length assumed a consistent form, and gave rise to a religious, a political, and a military organization, out of which sprang—national independence, which, although it was of brief continuance, lasted long enough to elevate the national mind, to revive among the people a genuine religious feeling, and especially to bring the belief peculiar to this race into a developed state, as a preparation for that revelation of life and immortality which was soon to be proclaimed among them.

The period of Jewish national independence may be considered as commencing in the year before the Christian era, 167, and as continuing till the taking of the Holy City by Pompey in 63—thus lasting a full century or more.

The Maccabean (Asmoncan) princes having drawn around them a numerous band of their countrymen, the devoted adherents of the true faith and worship, were able, within a year from the time of their revolt, to make good, under the command of Judas, an effective resistance against the Syrian king. He however, intensely irritated as he was, by this unlooked for rebellion, formed the resolution to extirpate, or to expatriate the Jewish race, and to supply its place by some other people. This purpose, however, he was not permitted to accomplish—scarcely to attempt it; for the signal successes of Judas drove his generals fairly out of the Jewish territory, in the course of two campaigns—B.C. 166 and 165. It was during this year that Antiochus, having been defeated in his Persian expedition, and disappointed in his cruel purposes as to the Jews, expired, it is said, in the frenzy produced by the torments of a horrible disease, and of a troubled conscience.

In the autumn of the following year, the victorious chief possessed himself of the Holy City (the citadel excepted) and purified the Temple and its precincts, where during three years the abominations of polytheism had been practised. He then restored, with glad acclaims, the worship of Jehovah.

The contentions that arose among the rival princes of the Syrian stock, and then the wars renewed between the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, were on the whole favourable to the struggles of the Jews in recovering their independence. But while aiming to secure their national integrity by the means of foreign intervention, a course was adopted which, in the lapse of time, issued, as in so many similar instances, in the utter loss of it. The Jews of this time courted an alliance with the Romans ;—an alliance of the feeble with the strong, can mean nothing but first, protection, and then subjugation. This treaty was concluded in the year B. C. 160, in which year also Judas Maccabeus fell in battle, in a manner worthy of his reputation. His brother and successor, Jonathan, found the means not merely of making head against the oppressors of the Jewish nation, but even of dealing with them on advantageous terms. This he did on several occasions when rival princes were willing, at any price, to purchase the aid he was able to afford. It was by means of the support he received from Alexander Balas, a pretender to the Syrian throne, that Jonathan, in the autumn of the year 152, at the feast of Tabernacles, presented himself in the Temple before his people in gorgeous attire as high priest. Thus commenced the series of Asmonean sacerdotal princes. It was on occasion of the marriage of this Alexander with Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, at Cæsarea, where the Jewish prince and priest appeared invested with the insignia of regal dignity, that the (conditional) independence of the Jews, as a people, was publicly recognised. This marriage was celebrated in the year B.C. 150.

Alexander Balas having been vanquished by his rival Demetrius Nicator, five years later, Demetrius confirmed Jonathan in his dignities, and moreover granted some further privileges to the Jewish people ; which were again extended on the overthrow of Demetrius, by the son of Alexander. This successful pretender, called Antiochus Theos, conferring military command upon Simon, brother of Jonathan, gave a new stability to the infant state. Jonathan, however, at length falling into the net prepared for him by Trypho, minister of Antiochus, died by assassination, leaving Simon the only survivor of this illustrious family, and the inheritor of the dignities it had acquired : soon afterwards, finding opportunity by the aid of the defeated Demetrius to avenge himself upon the murderer of his brother, Simon obtained, as the price of the succour he furnished, a substantial, if not a formal independence for his nation ; and from this moment a new era in Jewish history takes its date, as “the first year of Simon, high priest and prince of the Jews”—B. C. 143.

During the next year the Syrian garrison, which hitherto had retained the citadel at Jerusalem, was compelled to evacuate that stronghold, and thenceforward the Holy City was in the undisturbed possession of the Jews.

At a solemn convocation of the elders of the people, held in the year 140, Simon was formally installed in his dignity, as ecclesiastical and civil chief of the realm, and to his hands were confided powers little less than absolute.

The foul treason of his son-in-law brought his reign and life to its close,

while yet his administration continued to be firm and beneficial to his people. This event, spreading dismay through the realm, occurred in B. C. 135.

John Hyrcanus immediately succeeded to his father's dignities. Once more, however, the national independence was compromised under his administration, by a disadvantageous treaty with the Syrian king, Antiochus Sidetes. This partial subjugation lasted only a few years, and in B. C. 130, the Jewish independence was firmly, and as it seemed, lastingly restored.

JOHN HYRCANUS, supreme in church and state, and sovereign of a high-spirited and warlike people, gradually regained possession of those border cities and territories which once were subject to the kings of Judah, and at the same time he compelled the domestic adversaries or rivals of the Jews to submit to hard conditions—the Samaritans especially were so treated. He moreover revived the amicable connexion already established with the Roman senate; and by the aid of this powerful—too powerful—ally, placed himself still more completely than heretofore in a position of security toward the Syrian monarchy. This prince, moreover, set in a position of implacable animosity against each other the two religious factions that then divided the Jewish people—the Pharisaic and the Sadducean. This he did by renouncing his alliance with the former, while he surrendered himself to the counsels of the latter.

Aristobulus, his eldest son, after reigning one year with the title of king, was succeeded—B. C. 105—by his brother, Alexander Jannæus, whose reign of twenty-six years was disturbed by perpetual wars and rebellions, disastrous to the country. His widow, Alexandra, a woman of ability, administered the state, by aid of the Pharisees, in a manner tending to repair—in some measure—the mischiefs that had been occasioned by her late husband's turbulence and ambition. She died B. C. 69, and was succeeded by her eldest son, Hyrcanus II., between whom and his warlike brother Aristobulus a contention, fatal to the welfare of the Jewish people at the time, and which involved at length the loss of their independence, was terminated only by an event which claims to be noted as forming an era in the history of this people;—namely, the invitation given by these princes to POMPEY to arbitrate between them. It was in the year 63, B. C., that the Roman general listened, at Damascus, to the pleadings of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The issue—postponed a brief space, but aggravated in its consequences by the fruitless resistance of Aristobulus—was the siege and capture of the Holy City by the Romans, the slaughter of the people, and their loss, from that moment, of their national liberties. Henceforward Judæa was in fact tributary to Rome, and its princes ethnarchs only, or kings by permission. Nevertheless, the retention of the pontifical dignity by Hyrcanus carried forward for a while the native and Assyrian influence.

It is the period dating from the taking of Jerusalem by the Romans under Pompey, B. C. 63, and ending in the destruction of the city under Titus—



ANTIOCHUS, XI.



10

an interval of nearly 140 years—that forms, properly and distinctively, the subject of Josephus' history in the seven books of the "Wars of the Jews." What precedes this period is narrated as preliminary only.

The struggles of the vanquished princes of the Asmonean stock to regain their power, seemed, through the course of several years, to conceal from the eyes of the people the reality of the change that had affected them as a nation. And, in fact, the delegation by the Romans of their absolute power, as conquerors, to Antipater, the Idumæan, which gave them still the semblance of a native government, and entertained them with the shows of a monarchy, operated further to blind them to the truth of their position—giving a little colour to the falsehood of the boast, when they said, "We were never in bondage to any man."

It was in the year 57, B.C. that the Roman general, Gabinius, effectively shattered the Asmonean power, by dividing the country into five districts, independent of each other—dependent only upon the representative of the Roman power in Syria.

Crassus, who succeeded Gabinius as proconsul of Syria, carried away, as Josephus tells us, those treasures from the temple vaults, from which Pompey had magnanimously abstained. The fall of Pompey at Pharsalia, in the year 48, introduced a new order of events in Judæa, by giving more unrestrained scope to the ambition of the crafty Idumæan—Antipater, who had for many years wielded to all intents, that power, which had nominally belonged to the feeble puppet Hyrcanus. Antipater happily divined beforehand to whom the sceptre of the world would fall, and he was rewarded for his foresight by the procuratorship of Judæa. Hyrcanus was confirmed in the high-priesthood.

The following year brings into notice HEROD, the son of Antipater, whose personal history is, in fact, the history of Judæa, through the course of the following half-century. An event of much significance in its bearing upon the after course of Jewish affairs marks the year, when Herod, already advancing rapidly in his course, married Mariamne, the representative of the Asmonean line. This politic alliance had some effect in reconciling the Jewish people to what was in fact a foreign domination, and which the stricter portion of them hotly resented as such.

Herod's return from Rome, B.C. 40, where he had "obtained for himself a kingdom," may be assumed as the leading event of the time. Thenceforward HEROD, king of Judæa, by leave of whoever was for the time master of Rome, is the personage who visibly controls the destinies of the nation: henceforward, therefore, the summary of events, which had embraced years in the compass of a page, becomes gradually more and more special, until the historian approaches transactions which signalized months—weeks—or days.

The year 39, B.C. was marked by the occurrence of another of those sieges, of which so many have to be recorded in the history of the Holy City: in this instance the assailant, Herod, found himself compelled to return discomfited

from its walls. It was not until two years afterwards, that, with the aid of the Roman legions, the city was taken, when a frightful carnage of the people signalized the entrance of Herod into his capital. The decapitation, by Antony, of Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, Herod's competitor for the throne, brought to its close the line of the Asmonean princes, who, reckoning from the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, had actually swayed, or had claimed to sway, the sceptre of Judæa a hundred and twenty-six years. Hyrcanus, the aged representative of the sacerdotal stock, still survived, but was at length made the victim of Herod's jealousies in B.C. 30.

The violences and murders by means of which Herod sought to confirm himself in his power, seemed likely to meet their due reward when, by the battle of Actium, in 31, the fortunes of his patron, Mark Antony, were lost. He however, on the very ground of his fidelity to his fallen master, recommended himself to the favour of Augustus, and thus returned a second time to Palestine, confirmed in his kingly dignity. This took place in the following year.

From the first, Herod had shown himself an unscrupulous and furious tyrant: his fears, his jealousies, and his sanguinary taste, impelled him well-nigh to exterminate his own family. The noble-minded and beautiful Mariamne, to whom he was passionately attached, became nevertheless the victim of one of these impulses, and four years later, in 25 B.C., the last of the blood of the Asmonean race was poured forth upon the scaffold.

The murder of those around him who had caused, or who might cause him inquietude, emboldened Herod to do open violence to the religious notions and feelings of the Jewish people; and thus to win more thoroughly the favour of the Romans. With this view he instituted the games that were elsewhere practised, building a theatre within the very walls of Jerusalem, and an amphitheatre also in the environs of the city. The discontent excited by these impolitic acts, and the frightful vengeance taken by him in consequence upon the people, showed Herod that his personal safety could be secured only by providing himself with impregnable retreats, always held ready to receive him, in the event of a general revolt: impelled by this motive, he constructed, or restored, in the most magnificent manner, several strongholds, which he garrisoned by mercenary troops, and kept always provisioned, so as to sustain a lengthened siege. Such were Hippicus and the other impregnable towers at Jerusalem; Sebaste, on the site of Samaria; Cæsarea, on the coast; Herodium, seven miles south of Jerusalem; and especially Masada, on the western shore of the Dead Sea.

Herod's fears—a tyrant's torment, thus far allayed, he sought occasions for winning some popular favour. During the famine which afflicted Palestine B. C. 22, he largely distributed corn, purchased munificently from his private resources, among the most destitute, and afterwards, and through a course of years, he employed the vast wealth he had accumulated, in the erection of buildings, many of which were gratifying to the national feeling. Such especially was his enlargement and embellishment of the Temple. He built for himself also a sumptuous palace in Jerusalem. About this time, also,

Herod's imperial patron bestowed upon him the regions bordering upon his proper kingdom, Judæa—that is to say, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Auranitis.

The reconstruction of the Temple, which was commenced in 17 B.C., reached substantially its completion ten years afterwards.

The two sons of Herod by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, after receiving their education at Rome, under the eye of Augustus, had been received with affection by the Jewish people, who regarded them as representatives of the Asmonean house. This demonstration of popular favour toward them, was, however, fatal to the young princes, as it awakened the murderous jealousies of their cunning and unscrupulous half-brother, Antipater, and of their aunt Salome, and then, through them, of their ruthless father. The judicial murder of these young men was perpetrated at Samaria, in the year B.C. 6.

Herod's son, Antipater, whose machinations had thus been fatally successful, became himself, and justly, the next object of suspicion ; and on proof of his guilt he was condemned to death, and suffered five days only before the death of Herod. (B. C. 4.)

BOOK II.

Archelaus, the late king's son by Malthace, a Samaritan woman, succeeded by his father's will to the kingdom of Judæa, subject to the approval of the emperor ; and going to Rome to obtain this sanction, he returned with the title of ethnarch, in the first year of the vulgar era, or fourth after the birth of Christ. His maladministration procured his banishment by Augustus to Vienne, in the year 7 A. D. And this event is to be noted as marking the onward course of things, leading to the last struggle of the Jewish people to recover their nationality. Judæa now became a Roman province, administered by a Roman governor or procurator, of whom the first appointed was Coponius. The enrolment of the people, for taxation, carried forward by Cyrenius or Quirinus, now president of Syria, 'may be named as the origin of that blind but patriotic feeling of which the catastrophe of the war, half a century later, was the issue.

Tiberius succeeded Augustus A. D. 14. The administration of the procurators being on the whole prudent and moderate, years passed of comparative tranquillity. But Pontius Pilatus being appointed to the office by Tiberius, A. D. 25 (or 26), his cruelty and avarice very soon raised to a pitch of fury the Jewish people, and gave opportunity to the Zealots to urge forward that insurrectionary movement of which they were the promoters. The outrages perpetrated by this governor, which seemed likely to excite open rebellion, at length drew upon him the displeasure of his superiors, and he was recalled in the fifth year after that which he signalized by the part he took in the condemnation of Christ.

The accession of Caligula, A. D. 37, and the consequent promotion of

Agrippa, grandson of Herod, to the tetrarchies of Ituria and Abilene, with title of king—a dominion to which Idumæa, Samaria, and Judæa were subsequently added by Claudius, in 41—opens a new course of events, as affecting the Jewish people, although it was of short continuance. His munificence, his clemency, and his consideration for the religious feelings of his subjects, balanced, in their minds, his faulty leaning toward the polytheistic usages of Rome, and of the Greek population. This reign, which seemed to promise so well for the Jewish people, was terminated by Agrippa's untimely death, A.D. 44, as narrated in the *Acts*, xii. 23.

The death of their king was, in fact, to the Jews, the commencement of their calamities. The young Agrippa could not be entrusted with a government so difficult as was always that of Judæa. Palestine, therefore, became once more a province, governed by a Roman procurator; and the first appointed to this office, Cuspius Fadus, showed them too plainly what sort of treatment they were henceforward to expect.

Ventidius Cumanus, who, in A.D. 47, succeeded Tiberius Alexander as governor of Judæa, aggravated the popular discontents by his cruelty and rapacity. Felix came into the room of Cumanus in 50; he acted with much vigour in trying to put down the masked assassins, or Sikars—the Thugs of that age—who had become the terror of the people, especially at Jerusalem. To him succeeded Porcius Festus, eight years later. During this time, Herod Agrippa II., son of the late king, exercised his regal functions in his kingdom to the north of Galilee. This is the “king Agrippa” of whom we hear so often in the Jewish War.

Albinus succeeded Felix in A.D. 62, and hastened forward the fatal course of events by his insatiable cupidity and ferocity. Under his rule the country was filled with licensed bandits, who paid the governor a share of the spoil in return for the impunity which they enjoyed. His atrocities, intolerable as they were, were however surpassed by Gessius Florus, who succeeded him in 64. Each of these changes entailed new miseries upon this oppressed nation, as each governor strove, during his brief term of power, to wring the utmost out of the wretched people. To the shameless violences and enormous crimes of this last governor is to be attributed the breaking out of the insurrection, as a national revolt.

We have now reached the time at which the events narrated by Josephus properly belong to what is in a more special sense the “JEWISH WAR,” or the final conflict between the Romans and the Jews in arms.

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| <p>April,
A.D. 66.</p> <p>16th Artemi-
sius, or early
in May.</p> | <p>The immediate incitement of actual revolt was the scandalous behaviour of Florus toward the Jews, on occasion of a riot at Cæsarea, in which the Greek and Jewish population of that city had fought each other in the streets. Soon followed—that is to say, within a month—a massacre of the Jewish people by the Roman soldiers at Jerusalem, under the eye of Florus. The fruitless intervention of Agrippa, and his consequent retirement to his own kingdom, left the unhappy city to its fate—too clearly indicated by the</p> |
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violence with which the factions sought and laboured to effect each other's destruction : the more moderate party taking possession of the upper city ; those in favour of war, headed by the Zealots, of the lower city and the Temple, thus preparing to confirm the truth of that word, " A city divided against itself cannot stand."

Hostilities between these two parties commenced from the time of their thus dividing the space within the walls between them. Hitherto, this domestic feud had been carried on in promiscuous conflicts occurring throughout the city. In the first days of August occurred the festival, during which wood for maintaining the fire of the altar was customarily offered, and brought into the Temple. The Zealots holding the Temple and its precincts, repulsed those who, as accustomed, were entering to make their offering. A conflict ensued, and the Zealots, pushing their advantage, got entire possession of the upper city, where they burned the palace of Agrippa and Bernice, and of Ananias. Two days afterwards, they took the fort Antonia, massacring the garrison, which had capitulated.

15th Loüs,
Aug. A.D. 66.

They then besieged the Roman troops, and those of Agrippa, in the fortified palace of Herod. The latter being allowed to depart, the Romans took refuge in the three towers on the wall. Here they surrendered upon the solemn promise of their lives ; but no sooner had they laid down their arms, than they were butchered to a

6th Gorpisæus,
August.

man. This horrible treason involved them, beyond hope of compromise, with the Romans. At the same time a massacre of the Jewish population by the Greeks, at Cæsarea, Scythopolis, and other places, incited this outraged people throughout Palestine to resist to the death the Roman tyranny.

The Roman legions, led by Cestius Gallus, the President of Syria, advanced toward Jerusalem, and encamped at the distance of two leagues from it, during the time of the Feast of Tabernacles. Here he was defeated with great loss by the Zealots, who returned to Jerusalem, laden with spoils. This success had great influence in strengthening the vain hope of shaking off altogether the Roman domination. Cestius, on the advice of Agrippa, advanced again toward Jerusalem, and encamped upon Scopus, whence he penetrated so far as to establish himself in the new city, within the third or outer wall.

26th Hyper-
beretæus, Oct.
A.D. 66.

The Jews now withdrew to the upper town and the temple, of which Cestius would, in all probability, have become master in a few days ; but, influenced by some motive not easily explained, when the city might have been carried by assault, the Roman general led off his forces, retreating with loss to his camp ; and afterwards, in attempting to reach his former position, he sustained a signal defeat, the legions losing their baggage and engines of war, and great numbers falling in the difficult ravines of Bethhoron.

8th Dias, Oct.
A.D. 66.

It was at this moment, when men of all parties were compelled to choose their side, that the Jewish Christians, in compliance with the injunctions of Christ, abandoned their homes, and, under conduct of their bishop, found

a place of refuge at Pella, beyond the Jordan. The Zealots, thus far triumphant, proceeded at once to restore the defences of the city, and to send forth governors to the several districts within which they might still hope to maintain their influence, and defend their authority. The appointment of Josephus to the command of the two Galilees took place at this time. Throughout the following months, the Jews, with varying success, held the enemy at bay, and carried forward their preparations for the conflict that was approaching.

BOOK III.

Nero, informed of the reverses which had dishonoured the Roman legions in Palestine, called to his aid the ablest of his generals—Vespasian, who
 A.D. 66. shortly arrived in Palestine, and there took the command of all the Roman forces that could then be collected, for the purpose of bringing this formidable insurrection to an end.

It was early in the year 67 A.D., that Vespasian, joined by his son Titus, and by the allied princes of the neighbouring states, advanced into the heart of the revolted country, at the head of sixty thousand troops.

Jotapata, defended by the Jews under the command of
 22d Artemi- Josephus, was invested, and was taken by assault after a des-
 sius to 1st Pa- perate resistance of forty days.
 nemus, May
 and June, A.D. Joppa having been taken and destroyed, Tarichæa was next
 67. attacked, and its inhabitants slaughtered, or sold as slaves.

BOOK IV.

The fourth book opens with the siege of the almost impregnable fortress of Gamala, which occupied the Roman army another month; and the subjugation of Galilee was completed, late in the autumn, by the taking of Gischala. Meanwhile, within the walls of the devoted city faction raged unabatedly, and by the admission of an Idumæan army, or band, the Zealots were enabled to crush, or to hold in subjection the moderate party, and thus to persist in the course which was so soon to bring about the destruction of their city and nation.

Spring, Vespasian resumed his operations early in the following year,
 A.D. 68. and leaving Jerusalem for the present to itself, not doubting that the factions within it would ere long render it an easy conquest, he reduced the towns of Peræa, and afterwards those bordering on the Dead Sea, and those to the south and west of Jerusalem.

June 9, The death of Nero in this year, and the diversions thence
 A.D. 68. resulting to Vespasian, delayed until the next year all active measures against the revolted province on the part of the Romans.

A.D. 69. In the same manner also, passed the spring of the following year; but in June, Vespasian again put the army in movement.

In the next month he was proclaimed emperor by the legions then under his command, and in consequence of the events which placed the empire at his disposal, he left to his son Titus the task of reducing the refractory Jews to obedience.

Book V.

At this time the whole of Palestine had been reconquered, excepting Jerusalem, and the three fortresses held by the Zealots, namely, Machærus, Herodium, and Masada. Autumn of
A.D. 69.

The rival partisans, Simon, son of Gioras, and John of Gischala, contended for supreme power within the city, the latter having to contend also with Eleazar, a chief who, with the Zealots, had lodged himself securely in the interior of the temple, where he found abundant stores of provisions.

In the spring of the following year Titus, who had arrived from Egypt at Cæsarea, put the Roman legions in movement, along with the troops of his allies. Forming his camp at the distance of about four miles north of Jerusalem, he personally surveyed its defences, and in doing so, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Jews. From his first position he next advanced to that plateau upon which so many hostile armies, in succession, have taken their stand. The table-land called by Josephus—Scopus, is about one mile from the northern wall of the city, which it overlooks. At the same time the tenth legion encamped upon the Mount of Olives. A.D. 70.

Notwithstanding this investment of the city, thousands of the Jewish population of Palestine had continued to pour into it, to celebrate the approaching Passover; and they might have come and gone, unharmed by the Romans; but multitudes became the victims of the fanatical Zealots, now headed by John.

Titus now advanced his legions to a position nearer to the northern wall. He commanded in person the centre division, posted north-west of the city, and over against the tower Psephinus. The other wing extended itself upon the rising ground, opposite the tower Hippicus. The city therefore was invested on three sides—its southern aspect remaining free. 14th Xanthi-
cus, April 13.

Having in due form summoned the city to surrender, Titus commenced his operations, with the purpose of making his way through the third or outer wall, which was of wide circuit, and of less substantial structure than those within. During a fortnight the Roman legions sustained several losses from the besieged, and were repeatedly foiled in their endeavours to bring their engines to bear upon the wall; at length, however, a breach was effected, and the besiegers, driving the Jews within the second wall, possessed themselves of the quarter lying due north from the temple. 7 Artemisius,
6th May.

Five days later they stormed the second wall, and pushed on through the narrow streets of Acra—between the western wall of the temple, and

the extreme angle of the city wall, toward the west. From this advanced position they were driven subsequently, yet recovered their ground four days after. The Jews therefore, at this moment, retained possession of the upper city—Zion—only, and of the temple, with the Antonia ; but within these strongly fortified precincts they might very long have held out, had they been united in purpose, and had they not madly consigned stores of provisions to the flames.

Well aware now of the difficulty of his enterprise, Titus again attempted to bring the Jews to terms of reason. These endeavours failing, the legions went to work, in their accustomed manner, to raise mounds near the wall, on which to plant their engines. Two of these works were directed against the Antonia, and two others on the northern quarter ; but they were undermined by the besieged, or the wood-work upon them burned.

This ill success of his endeavours to carry the city by storm now induced Titus to resort to the means for vanquishing it by famine ;—to “ shut it in on every side.” The labour of surrounding Jerusalem with an effective wall was completed by the legions in the incredibly short space of three days. This wall, lofty enough to subserve its temporary purpose, and nearly five miles in circuit, and strengthened with thirteen towers, precluded the entrance of any supplies or provisions, as well as the exit of the useless population. The horrors of famine went on every day to greater extremes of suffering, while reckless massacres gorged the streets with bodies.

BOOK VI.

1st Panemus, 28th June. The Romans, during this time, employed themselves assiduously in reconstructing their works, and at length were prepared to assail anew the tower Antonia. The outer wall being overthrown by the ram, the besiegers found an inner defence, which the besieged had constructed. This however, after repeated rebuffs, was forced by the Romans, and the Jews fled into the interior of the temple.

It was on the seventeenth of this same month that the daily sacrifices ceased to be offered—ceased from that day to this ! The next day a doubtful conflict was carried on in those avenues which the fall of the tower Antonia had laid open. After the lapse of another seven days, the Romans, upon the site of the ruins, had raised an embankment against the enclosure of the temple itself. The burning of the porticoes toward the north and west, involving a great loss of life on the side of the Romans, brought the besieged and the besiegers still nearer to each other. It was at this time that those horrors had place which the last extremity of hunger is wont to occasion.

8th Loui., 3d August. Ladders were now planted against the exterior of the porticoes ; but the assailants being repulsed, the entire ranges of

wooden structures were set fire to, and consumed. Titus still hoped to avert this fate from the temple itself; but he failed in his endeavours, and on the very anniversary of the destruction of Solomon's temple, that of Herod was enveloped in flames.

10th Lulls,
5th Aug. A.D. 70.

The upper city still held out against Titus. The entire range of the lower city—Bezetha, Acra, and the southern quarter, Ophel—all was given up to pillage, slaughter, and fire, and preparations were made to force an entrance into Zion.

After a few days' delay, the battering machines were brought to play upon the wall. This last refuge of the Jewish people was soon entered, and anew the work of destruction went on. Jerusalem was made a heap of smoking ruins—ruins entombing, or not entombing, thousands upon thousands of the slain, or of those who had died of hunger.

20th Lulls,
15th Aug.
8 Gorpiaeus,
2d Sept.

BOOK VII.

Three fortresses were still occupied by Jewish bands—namely, Herodium, Machærus, and Masada. The first of these was readily taken by the Roman general, Lucilius Bassus, and Machærus fell after some resistance. Masada then became the scene of what might be called the final catastrophe of the Jewish people. After the self-destruction of those who had there found refuge, it was taken possession of by Flavius Silva, in April, A.D. 73.

THE PREDICTED DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWISH POLITY, CITY, AND TEMPLE.

IRRESPECTIVELY of its bearing upon a momentous religious argument, the narrative of the JEWISH WAR, as given by Josephus, would have held a prominent place among the historical remains of antiquity. But, in fact, it is this, its undesigned relationship to Christianity, connecting the overthrow of the Jewish state with the promulgation of the Gospel, which has come to be regarded as the main reason of the high importance that attaches to the writings of the Jewish historian. Briefly stated, the case before us is this:—The speedily approaching and irretrievable destruction of the Jewish *national* existence—the slaughter and dispersion of the people—and the capture, overthrow, and demolition of the city and temple (involving the cessation of its divinely-appointed worship and services) were, on several occasions, and in different modes of speech, foretold by Christ, in

the course both of his public ministry, and of his private conversations with his disciples. The actual utterance of these predictions, at the time alleged, is a fact necessarily included in the evidence which attests the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospels; and the fact is here assumed as certain.

But have these predictions been indeed fulfilled? If so, when, and under what circumstances? Is it true that a fair interpretation of the prophecy stands sustained by the after-history of the Jewish people, country, and city? Such, in substance, are the questions which it is inevitable to put, and which should receive a definite reply.

In preparing such an answer, it is natural, *first*, to look at the devastated Palestine itself, and to those ruins which now cover, and which through a course of ages have covered, the site of its ancient metropolis. We look also to the actual condition, and to the known modern history of the Jewish people, as well as to those records of their past history which themselves, with no wish to corroborate the faith of Christians, have composed and preserved. We turn, in the next place, to the existing architecture, and the medallie memorials of the Roman occupation of Judæa, at the times in question; and especially to those of them which symbolise the conquest of the revolted province and the subjugation of the people.

The evidences, bearing upon this question, which next in order claim attention, are those passages in the contemporaneous Latin and Greek writers—the historians especially—in which the Jewish revolt is mentioned, and the events of the war, ending in the overthrow of the nation, are narrated, or are briefly alluded to.

These several sources of information, independent as they are one of the other, furnish altogether an amount of proof far more than enough to remove the possibility of doubt at least as to the outline of the facts.

But for the filling up of this outline, and for our knowledge of those lesser, yet significant circumstances which attended the catastrophe of the Jewish people, and which enhance so much the argumentative value of the history in its bearing upon the prediction—for this filling up, and for these circumstances, we must be indebted to the pages of the national historian—Josephus. Yet we enter upon an examination of this more ample evidence, well secured, at the outset, against the inroads of warrantable scepticism (as to the broad facts) by the coincidence of the various testimonies above mentioned; and we are thus left at ease to apply to the separate portions of this more ample testimony, every approved method of critical and historical scrutiny. We may well afford to make as large an allowance as can be asked for, on the plea of the author's supposed sinister intentions, of his alleged habit of exaggeration, or of his want, in any case, of authentic information.

But now, before attempting in any such manner to sift this evidence, that upon which it bears, namely—the PREDICTION itself, or the several predictions, in question, should be placed before us. Let us know precisely what it is which Christ foretold as about to “come to pass,” affecting the Jewish nation, its sacred city, and its temple. Moses and the prophets,

in their several times, had predicted the miseries that should signalize the history of this peculiar people—their captivity, dispersion, persecutions, contempt, and the demolition of their city and temple: these, and such like calamities, had saddened the message of prophet after prophet through a course of ages; and each threatened woe had actually come on, so as that, in the time of Christ, it did not seem as if those ancient predictions of wrath needed any further accomplishment.

On the contrary, inasmuch as the Jewish people—at home, and throughout the world—had now at length, utterly, zealously, and even with vehemence, renounced and forsaken those polytheistic tendencies, and that idolatrous apostasy, on account of which, and of which *exclusively*, the prophetic denunciations had been issued—it might appear as if the dispensation of wrath had, with the “offence,” passed away, no more to be revived; and as if a people now, so faithful to their trust, as God’s witnesses among the nations, might confidently look forward to a futurity of peace and welfare. The Jewish people of that age might, on one ground, almost think themselves *entitled*, according to the terms of the covenant made with their fathers, to an ample and continuous fruition of those promises which brighten every page of their prophetic Scriptures, and which alternate with each threatening of wrath.

Nevertheless, the language of threatening is again taken up by Him who comes to announce and to establish a “better covenant” than that of Moses; and these denunciations are no longer—like those of the ancient prophets, mingled with bright forecastings of national restoration. Christ predicts woe to the Jewish people, and woe without a return of hope.

This message of dismay is sometimes conveyed in symbolical terms; and sometimes with all the distinctness which the most literal style can secure. A denunciation to be inflicted upon the nation within the compass of a few years, must be understood as the purport of that passage, (LUKE xi. 50,) in which our Lord declares that the generation then extant should be reckoned with for the blood of the martyr-prophets of all past time; and that this should be, because those to whom he spake, and their contemporaries, should take upon themselves this guilt by putting to death the servants of God that were about to be sent to them.

When set forth in apologue, the same consequence, as affecting the Jewish nation of that age, was so plainly declared, that the Rabbis, in whose hearing our Lord uttered some of these parables, were not blind to their meaning. They well understood that “he spake of them.” So, in the parable of the ten pounds. (LUKE xix.) The prince, rejected by his subjects, who declared that “they would not have this man to reign over them,” are, when he has reckoned severally with his servants, dragged into his presence and slaughtered as his declared “enemies.” And it is to be noticed that, while this—the “end” of those who should reject him as the Messiah, is yet vividly present to his mind, the mere sight of the fated city, as he “came near” to it, and saw its impending woes, as if then enacting before him, drew from

him the prophetic lamentation, which he uttered weeping—"If thou hadst known, even thou in this thy day!" The terms of the prediction are to be particularly noted. Jerusalem was to be beset by "her enemies," who should "fence her in," and "surround her" on all sides, and level the city with the ground, overthrowing its structures, stone by stone. It was thus that, after pursuing to the death those who should be sent to her, Jerusalem was to see her "house left to her desolate." Such should be the overthrow of the *city* and *temple*. As to the *nation*—the Jewish people, rejecting Christ as their Messiah, He, at his coming, should "miserably destroy them." That is to say, they should perish under circumstances of aggravated and unexampled suffering, *MATT.* xxi. 40, 41. Our Lord was clearly understood to mean nothing less than this, by those before whom, and against whom, the parable of the vineyard was uttered: hearing it, they exclaimed, (*LUKE* xx. 16,) "Let it not be." The chief priests and the Pharisees listening to his parables "perceived that he spake of them."

No purpose which we have now in view, demands that the involuted predictions recorded by the three Evangelists concerning the destruction of the temple, and the course of events "to the end," should here be historically considered or interpreted. What we have to do with, is a single prediction, too explicit to be evaded, as if it might be susceptible of a merely metaphoric interpretation. Jesus, with his disciples, going forth from the temple, declared concerning the structures toward which—incidentally—they had directed his attention, "that not a stone of them should be left upon another." This prediction, uttered at the moment, as if unpremeditated, was presently afterwards made the text of a series of prophecies, susceptible, perhaps, of a complex or reverberating interpretation, reaching onward through all time; but from the general aspect of which, as related to the specific prophecy concerning the demolition of the temple, we may safely gather this intention—namely, to forewarn the disciples, and through them their immediate successors, of that season of unprecedented calamity, which was *soon* to come upon the city and nation. Happy should the childless be accounted in those days of wrath;—and happy those who, at that time rightly understanding these warnings, should abandon, at a moment's notice, whatever they might possess, and make good a timely escape from the devoted city.

The prediction now in question is but a more defined and emphatic expression of that which, in various modes, during the course of his last visit to Jerusalem—if not before—our Lord had uttered, foreshowing what was then about to come to pass.

It may be well to bring before the eye, so far as is practicable, the topographic circumstances that may be thought to have attached to the delivery of this precise prediction.

There is reason to believe that our Lord's "walking in the temple," and his "teaching in the temple," took place, ordinarily, within and about the cloister on the eastern side of the great quadrangle; that is to say, before

the eastern front of the temple itself. In leaving the sacred precincts, therefore, his exit would be by the eastern gate, opening upon the deep valley of Jehoshaphat; the gate, probably (which has long been built up,) called in modern times, the Golden Gate. That, on the occasion which we have now in view, Christ, "with his disciples," did actually leave the temple by this Eastern Gate, would naturally be inferred from the fact of his having ascended, forthwith, the opposite height, taking his repose for a while, as he was accustomed to do, in the olive grove which tufted its ridge.

Facts, or necessary inferences from facts, presently to be adverted to, lead to the belief that the pavement of the *courts* of the temple above which the pavement of the temple itself was raised many feet, were upon a level considerably higher than that of the present plateau of the Haram. That is to say, the interior open space—the pavement of the courts—would, if a level had been carried from it outwards, have struck the outer wall at a height above that where, on every side, this wall now shows, by its irregular masonry, that it is a modern work; that is to say, dating later than the time of the demolition of the city by Titus. Now the disciple, or disciples, who pointed cursorily to the buildings of the temple, and to the "goodly stones and gifts"—the columns of white marble entire, and of porphyry, and their decorations of massive gold which adorned it—had in view, *not* those colossal substructures on which the whole rested, and which, *at that time*, did not—could not, meet the eye, but only those superstructures which gave to this extraordinary pile of buildings its great elevation. "*See ye not*," said our Lord, "*these things*"—the things which *in fact the eye fixed itself upon*, on every side—"I tell you the days are coming when not one stone *of them* shall be left upon another."

From his position upon Olivet, "over against the temple"—which in height could not have been inferior to the ridge whereon now stands the church of the Ascension—our Lord continued his prophetic discourse;—his eye, and the eye of those to whom he spoke, resting upon a vast structure of unmatched solidity, magnificence, and costliness; and he then went on to predict a course of events as "at hand," the issue of which should be such an overturning of the city, and of its walls, and of its towers, and of its temple, as should reduce the whole almost to an undistinguishable level of ruins—the deep valleys choked on every side, and nothing rearing itself aloft but the three towers westward, which were to tell to after times what sort of city it was, against which the Roman arms had prevailed.

On the testimony even of profane writers, we must suppose Jerusalem to have been, in the times of the Herods, architecturally one of the most remarkable within the circuit of the Roman world:—none were more solidly built, or were more likely to stand the wear of time, or even to outlast the ordinary chances of war, of siege, and of conflagration. That it should be levelled piecemeal by the crow-bar, and that this demolition should be effected, not by the reckless fury of a swarm of barbarians, but coolly and deliberately,

by those who were masters of the world, and who especially prided themselves upon the magnificence of the cities and countries they had vanquished—this was no probable event, which could be calculated upon as likely to occur; unless, indeed, a period were to be claimed for its arrival long enough to include the revolutions of many centuries. And yet it *did* take place, within the limits of a human life—even before that generation had passed away. “Weep not for me—weep for *yourselves*, and for your children,” said our Lord; for *some of yourselves*, and multitudes of your children, shall survive to that time of woe.

Those passages from the Roman contemporary writers, which refer to, or which affirm, the subjugation of Judæa and the demolition of the city, have been often cited, and—sustained as they are by the evidence of coins and sculptures, they remove the principal facts of the Jewish war beyond the range of all reasonable doubt or question. As to the evidence of Josephus, to whom we must look for the details—the filling up of the outline of this history—the reader has had it before him; and he may form his own estimate of the degree of confidence that is due to it. The narration of the events of the siege through the summer-months of the year, 70 A.D., may perhaps bear retrenchment in certain particulars which seem to demand an allowance to be made, either for the historian’s imperfect information, or for his natural tendency (if such there were) toward over-statement; but after every such retrenchment has been effected, the broad results remain untouched—namely, that the Jewish people did offer a long-continued and resolute resistance to the Roman forces;—that, during the protracted siege which ensued, the most appalling extremities of suffering were endured by those who were enclosed within the walls;—that, by famine, by intestine conflicts, by conflagrations, and by the Roman sword, an unexampled loss of life took place;—that thousands of the people afterwards perished in the Roman amphitheatres, that many thousands were sold as slaves, and that the legions, after possessing themselves of the city, were occupied during a length of time in deliberately overthrowing its buildings—public and private; and that they prosecuted this work of demolition as far as it could, in the nature of things, have been carried, unless the Cyclopean materials of these structures had been actually removed from the site, and had been heaped up at a distance from it. This was not attempted, nor was it possible, and therefore the deep *substructures* of the city, or the lowest tiers and courses of stones, buried, as they would be, beneath the mass of overthrown materials, remained there untouched, and are now partially exposed to view.

And what do these extant remains indicate, in relation to those predictions that have been fulfilled; and in relation to some that are yet to be accomplished?

In their bearing upon the *former*, and especially upon the specific prediction which we have immediately in view, it will be well to make an exploration of the modern Jerusalem, considered as THE SEPULCHRE of the ancient Jerusalem. By the aid of the ample and various testimonies

of modern travellers, and by the help of the pictorial illustrations that are attached to this work, we attempt such an exploration; and inquire how far the existing buildings, and the confused materials that now cover the site of the ancient Jerusalem, may be held to tell the story of its history up to, and beyond, the commencement of the Christian era.

What is assumed at the outset of such an inquiry is no more than what is, at present, allowed on all hands—namely, that the deep ravines, or the natural valleys which, on three sides, hem in the *modern* Jerusalem, do enclose the area of the *ancient* city. In other words, that the traditionary topography of Jerusalem has not greatly erred in respect of the site, either of the temple, or of Zion; or as to the identity of the tower of David—the Hippicus of Herod's time. It is necessarily assumed also, that the name—"the Mount of Olives," has been truly assigned to that range of hills which overlooks the great mosque and the haram, from the east.

The courses of the winter torrents, embracing the city, immoveably define its boundaries on the east, west, and south. Coincident with the natural features of this area, are certain architectural remains, so blended with those natural features as to remove all ambiguity from our course of inquiry. These blended remains—these archaic structures, which time has, in a manner, melted into a oneness with the rock whereon they rest, are, as has been already stated, the following—1st, the watercourse, artificially formed, which conveys a stream from some unexplored source within the Haram, along the flank of Ophel, first to the Fountain of the Virgin, and thence onward to the Fountain and Pool of Siloam. This conduit, in which nature and art have wrought together, speaks of that course of many centuries, during the lapse of which all things have undergone change—except itself.

Again, 2dly, the two pools—the upper and the lower pools of Gihon, together with the aqueducts that wind along the sides of the Valley of Hinnom, and which encircle the southern mound of Zion, must be regarded indisputably as remains of a remote age. With these may be classed, 3dly, the spacious hollow, north of the Haram, called the Pool of Bethesda, and also 4thly, that on the western side of the city, called the Pool of Hezekiah.

But in fact, this aqueous testimony in behalf of the alleged identity of the modern and of the ancient Jerusalem, may be gathered at all places within the circuit of the walls, where we choose to look for it—deep hidden among the basements of the modern houses. Jerusalem has at all times enjoyed exemption from the suffering of drought, when besieged. Every house, almost, had its tank; and as very many of these are still in use, they attest, in various ways, the antiquity of their construction. Jerusalem might be called a city of cisterns; and if the site of the ancient city could on any pretext be called in question, the laying bare these reservoirs, which honeycomb the rock whereon it stands, must determine any such argument. Thus it is that, if now the ear be laid to the surface of this excavated rock, in more than a few places, the gurgling or the trickling of deep waters may be heard,

whispering concerning those thousands of years through the track of which the "early and the latter rains," granted from year to year by Heaven, have been treasured and used by man.

From the space enclosed within the walls we next turn to the sides of the rocky valleys that encircle it. These again utter their voice, although in another tone; for it is the voice of the sepulchre, and it attests the fact that these limestone acclivities have received the mortal remains of very many generations. A closely built and densely peopled city, it is manifest, has, through a long tract of time, sent forth its dead to find their place of rest around it. Myriads of sepulchres, indicating in various modes the ages to which they severally belong, serve to show that we have not erred in assuming as certain the continuity of this city, *on this spot*. This circuit of sepulchres—this belt of the dead—runs quite round the city, just outside the circuit of waters, and it encloses a space measuring about a mile and a half, east and west, by two miles or more, north and south. What means a band of tombs, rising range above range, and forming an amphitheatre six miles or more in circuit, if not that it has long engirdled thousands of the living?

We look next to the structures of all kinds which cover this thus enclosed area. Jerusalem, and other modern cities that have held continuous possession of an ancient site, show their history conspicuously in their structures, and remains of structures—in the edifices that are entire, and in those that are prostrate. This visible and palpable history, moreover, may be read, not merely on the face of masonry that has held its place unmoved from the first, but in the *material*—the wrought material, lying about, or which has been made available by the builders of later times. It is thus in every ancient European city—take as examples some of our English towns, such as Chester, York, Colchester, Exeter, Gloucester. We find in those places, the modern English architecture—the Pointed—the Norman—the Saxon—the Roman, and some of these edifices, in whole or in part, such as the builders of each age made and left them: while others show the motley of a recent superstructure, or a filling up, or a repair of an ancient substructure. But what is often the most significant, is that which presents itself to the eye of the antiquary, when buildings, the architectural style of which leaves no doubt as to the age to which they should be assigned, have been constructed with materials that, from some well-understood peculiarity, show that they have been borrowed from a far more ancient structure. In certain instances of this kind, one frontage is seen to exhibit a quite modern superstructure, below or within which is a more remote work—itsself modern, compared with the materials of a still earlier building, which are wrought into it: and lastly and lowermost, a basement, consisting of those materials, occupying their original position. In such instances it is usual (as would be reasonable to suppose) to find the basement exhibiting a perfect regularity of position in the stones, as well as a relative congruity and an exactness in the joinings. What has been reared by employing the disintegrated materials of an ancient structure, is ordinarily less precise in its masonry;

and presents a frequent intermixture of incongruous masses, large and small, and these not packed in the best manner. In a word, such edifices bear the marks of that alternate niggardliness and profusion which is the characteristic of waste, and of a barbaric indifference to symmetry.

Take as an example (already mentioned in this work) the long-ago dismantled and wave-worn mole, which marks the site of the ancient Cæsarea; we there behold shafts of porphyry, and highly-wrought capitals, protruding out their ends from between rude blocks of stone, and this medley is seen to be resting upon a deep-laid foundation of Cyclopean stones—stones which speak to us of Herod's magnificence, and of that boundless command of means which his despotic rule secured to him.

Now this sort of mixture, and this alternation of the ancient and the modern—of the *materials* of a remote era, worked into the successive structures of later ages, presents itself on every side as we walk about the modern Jerusalem. We have before us, uppermost, the labours of the Turkish builder, with his patchwork; then those of the Frank—substantial and uniform; then the Saracenic work, then the Greek; then the Roman, from Hadrian's time up to the Augustan age, including Herod's; and beneath and beyond these remains there is found a style of masonry, and a mode of working materials, which is peculiar, and which, beyond question, claims an antiquity far more remote than the times of the Roman supremacy in Syria.

Let the reader now turn to some of the plates attached to this and the preceding volume.

We first take the two plates entitled—STREETS IN JERUSALEM, both of which may be adduced as presenting *samples* of what meets the eye in all parts of the city—namely, fronts and sides of buildings—private houses, before which a lecturer upon the history of Palestine might well take his stand, as if before a chart of chronology. There are the Turkish upper works, and the balconies—the pots and the rubble, put together with all imaginable recklessness of rule and proportion. Then the well-constructed and decorated arches, both Crusading and Saracenic, and then the basements, constructed, perhaps, about the same time, but consisting of materials taken, as convenience dictated, from confusedly overthrown masses, belonging to a remote age. That the stones *individually*, of which these walls consist (in their lower ranges), were squared and wrought for a building of *an earlier time*, is evident, not merely from their irregular position *now*, one with another, and the intermixture of small and large stones, but also from the circumstance that the edges of many of them are finely bevelled, as in adaptation (as elsewhere appears) to a uniform and ornamental collocation; and we see moreover that the more recent builder, in order to give some little appearance of care and cost to his work, has rudely chiselled a *correspondent bevelling* upon the neighbouring stones, which had it not originally. We see then before us, in these instances (and they are very numerous) masses of substantial building, self-dated as we may say, the lower portions being manifestly not of later date than that of the Saracenic, or the Greek

occupation of Palestine, and which lower portions were put together from the overthrown remains of far more ancient buildings—edifices evidently of great solidity and costliness.

That which is seen at so many points in the narrow streets of Jerusalem, offers itself also to view in those vast Cyclopean structures which mark the site of its public buildings.

We now therefore refer the reader to those plates that exhibit the exterior walls of the Haram, at different points. (See HARAM WALL, SOUTH-EAST CORNER; SOUTH FRONT, EAST CORNER; NORTH-EAST CORNER; and particularly that representing a portion of the WALL NEAR ST. STEPHEN'S GATE.) These portions of wall exhibit, in a very distinct manner, THREE ARCHITECTURAL ERAS; the latest being the reparation of the wall with irregular materials, mostly of small size, and which is to be regarded as a Turkish work. Beneath this, and pursuing a very irregular line, is a surface of colossal masonry, in which stones of enormous dimensions are very irregularly commingled with smaller, the interstices being filled up in a manner that indicates a disregard of form and order. Many of the faces of stones in this portion of the wall are bevelled, and the bevellings are adjusted with some appearance of care, one to another. But yet here and there, mortice tenons protrude themselves, while on other faces there are corresponding cavities, showing clearly that the whole of these materials are adaptations of the dislocated and disjointed stones of an overthrown but elaborately wrought ancient building. In each of these plates something of this sort appears. In that of the SOUTH FRONT, EAST CORNER (upright plate) the irregular packing of stones, larger and smaller, is seen, even quite low down in the wall; in fact, the third upwards from the present level presents this *misposition* of stones, in a striking manner. The stones of this corner may be examined, stone by stone, in comparing the two faces of this same corner, as seen in the upright plate, and in that of the eastern side of the same. From this comparison it will appear that, although the stones are placed alternately lengthways and endways, on each front, so as to impart strength to the corner, showing what was manifestly the *principal intention* of these later-age builders, yet, this purpose being secured, no such regard was afterwards paid to the collocation of stones, as would serve to give uniformity to the alternations of joinings.

It will be well distinctly to understand what is implied in the facts now under our eye. We have before us a mass of masonry, the materials of which, being of extraordinary and colossal magnitude, could not have been quarried and transported unless by a community, or a prince, commanding great resources, and this through a long period of national tranquillity. Yet this is not all;—for besides its enormous weight, which alone must have rendered each stone in a high degree costly, each has been bevelled in the most exact manner; or rather has been squared down upon its four edges, so as that, when duly ranged, the face of the wall would present a surface elaborately decorative, true, and symmetrical.

But now, in any case when the materials of an edifice are prepared according to a plan, and at great cost, the obvious mode of proceeding, and which no builder could fail to adopt, would be, so to order the arrival of these materials upon the site, as might enable him, without perplexity or confusion, to locate each stone in the best possible manner :—that is to say, so as should give the intended advantage to the mason's preparatory labour. What builder, having at his bidding the wealth of an empire, and actually bestowing that wealth lavishly *upon his materials*, would afterwards so forget all plan and symmetry as to huddle them one upon another without law or reason ? This would never be done—it never has been done.

We imagine however another order of things, and then the result, necessarily, will be such as that with which we have now to do. Let it only be supposed that a mass of buildings, the separate stones of which are of enormous size, has, from whatever motive, been overthrown—stone dislodged from stone—by the deliberate use of cranes and iron levers ; and then, that these huge masses, thus loosened from their places, and tumbled one upon another in utter confusion, strew and cover the ground on all sides, and even glut the valleys or ravines adjacent. Now, while things are in this state, let the builder of a later time, say—a century later, come up with instructions to reconstruct, upon the existing foundations, these cyclopean walls. In such a case, the builder says to his employer, “With *these* materials, and upon *these* foundations, I can well construct a *fortress*, but not a *palace*.” All requisite strength and solidity might, under these conditions, be answered for ; but, as to any purposes of decoration, chance must be mistress of the work.

If the requirement had been, not merely to rear anew the edifice, but to restore its pristine beauty of surface—its regularity of collocation—its architectural joinings, no method could have sufficed for *this* purpose less laborious or expensive than that of sorting out the whole mass of materials upon a widely extended adjoining area. This mountain of ponderous stones, lying in chaotic confusion, must have been carried out and set forth upon a plain, and thence must have been returned to the builder's hand. Even under the most favourable circumstances a process such as this could scarcely have been attempted. What *might* be done in such a case, is precisely what appears actually to have been done in reconstructing the Haram Wall, such as we now have it before us. Whatever affected the stability of the structure was properly regarded ; the corner-stones were selected from the surrounding heaps, and were carefully placed in alternate order. So far, also, as might be practicable, the level line of each range of stones was preserved ; but this could not always be done ; and therefore in several instances that are observable in all parts of the Haram exterior wall, where a stone of the required dimensions was not procurable at the moment when wanted, its place was supplied, sometimes by placing a large stone on its edge, and sometimes by filling a gap with small stones, or mere fragments.

In a word, while contemplating these masses of masonry, little effort of

the imagination is required to read the history of the structure, as written in intelligible symbols upon the surface. Without doubt an edifice of the most sumptuous kind here once stood ; but it had been demolished, even down to its very foundations ; its pride had been brought low, “even to the ground.” Yet, at some later time, a builder availing himself, as best he might, of the materials that were piled upon the site and all around it, and glad to rest his intended work upon the rock-like foundations which the demolisher had spared, rears anew this place of strength, although it could no more be gloried in as a palace or temple.

The JEWS’ PLACE OF WAILING is a narrow paved court, on the western side of the Haram, and not far up from the south-west corner of the quadrangle. The level of this court is very low, as related to the general height of the wall ; being little, if at all, above the level of the SPRING STONES. Its position may be understood by reference to the view (outline Plate) of EL AKSA AND THE WALL.

The firmly-held traditional belief of the Jewish nation—the mourners for the desolations of the “Beautiful House”—is, that the very stones which are thus perpetually and with this patriotic constancy moistened with tears—are, in their integrity, part and parcel of Solomon’s temple. Easily we may assent to this national belief, so far as to grant that the stones individually are the “precious and living stones” of that glorious house. And further than this, nothing forbids us to suppose that which the appearance of the wall at this part renders probable, namely—that to some height upward from the range next the pavement, the structure is entire, and has stood from the first undisturbed. There is more of regularity in this particular portion of the wall than elsewhere ; and one is tempted to admit the supposition that, while the pride of the Roman conqueror impelled him to leave three towers standing, as evidences of what sort of city it was against which the Roman valour and military science had prevailed, so, by the Divine control, a portion of their “House” should be left in its integrity, a sad inheritance, intended to keep throbbing from age to age the national heart of the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. On the right hand—southward, this regularity soon disappears ; on the left hand—northward, the surface, whatever it may be, is hidden by modern structures.

Our next reference must be to the view of THE REMAINS OF AN ARCH ; and to the outline Plate, ELEVATION OF THE WALL AND SPRING-STONES, which shows the same in front ; and all that need be said in connexion with our immediate argument, as illustrated by these remarkable remains, is this—that, while these enormous masses of stone, holding as they do their position in true geometric relation to the arch of which they are the commencement, exhibit and imply, in the highest degree, that cost, and leisure, and scientific purpose of which elsewhere we see the indications, yet the marks of a hasty reconstruction of overthrown materials are conspicuous *on both sides of the spring-stones*, and on a level with them. It is

inferentially certain, that no builder possessing the means, and commanding the mechanical forces necessary for constructing an arch of this magnitude, would have surrounded it with fragmentary and rubbish-like work, such as is now in juxtaposition with it. We may therefore, with confidence, assume from the facts—*first*, that these spring-stones, resting on a regularly constructed foundation, are *what* and *where* they have been from the period of the quarrying of the stones ; but that the wall above, and on either hand, had been overthrown, and has since been reconstructed from the confusedly scattered materials.

The Plate—ENTABLATURE AND WINDOW—showing the built-up remains of a beautiful Roman work, mid-way in the southern face of the Haram, displays some degree of regularity of masonry, yet does not show such as we find where materials of the same order have been undisturbed from the first. It is here, not until we reach the lowest tier of stones, and which are of great size, that they exhibit an *entire* regularity, along with a due regard to the bevelling of the edges.

What we here mean will be best understood by turning to the outline Plate—DOUBLE ARCH-WAY. This plate shows, on the right-hand side, the objects seen in the Plate of the ENTABLATURE AND WINDOW, just referred to. The visible, or exterior half of the ornamented arch, and the window, are here seen in their relation to the left-hand arch, seen, and seen in part only, when the dark subterranean passage has been entered. It appears therefore that the large and regularly-placed stones of this part of the wall are on a level with a *subterraneous gallery*, through which access was had to the interior of the edifice. But on the left hand of this ENTRANCE TO THE VAULTS the masonry has the appearance of an undisturbed work. In fact, an appearance presents itself here, and whenever we reach a *foundation level*—a level some way beneath the general exterior surface—which affords striking confirmation of the belief as to all *above* this level—namely, that it is a reconstruction of the materials of an edifice overthrown.

A glance now at the interior of the vaults, to the entrance of which we have approached, will satisfy our present purpose. These dim chambers are, of course—subterranean. Two flights of steps, and a long slope, intervene between the pavement of the vaults and the pavement of the Court of the Haram. What meets the eye in entering these passages and halls, is manifestly of Roman workmanship, and not, therefore, of the most remote antiquity. But this comparatively recent work—the columns, the groined ceilings, and the pilasters, are nothing more than an appendage or supplement to what is far more substantial, and which is of a more remote age. Now this more ancient and interior work is distinguished by the same peculiar style which attaches to the foundation-stones of the exterior—namely the bevelled edges, and a true position of the stones in alternate order, so as to give the joinings a regular architectural character. It would seem as if these vaults had been laid open at the time when the edifices above were demolished, and that their re-ceiling was all a more recent work, and was

one with the columns, the pilasters, and the coatings which are now visible.

But the walls and vaults of the Haram are not our only sources of information concerning the history of the existing remains of the ancient Jerusalem. The same conclusions are suggested, in all instances, where the marks of a high antiquity are apparent.

In order to show this, our next reference must be to the Plate exhibiting the INTERIOR OF THE WALL NEAR THE DAMASCUS GATE—and which has already been described.

In this case two, three, and, on the left-hand side, four courses of stones, and within the recess six, may be attributed, *in their present position*, to a remote antiquity. Everything above these courses is manifestly a reconstruction of scattered materials.

The lower part of the TOWER OF DAVID, or Citadel, has always been regarded as an undisturbed ancient work. So it was esteemed by the Jews in the time of Benjamin of Tudela. That the *stones* are those of an ancient tower need not be questioned; but it may be doubted whether this quadrangular structure, in its present form, is indeed the work of Jewish builders in the times of the monarchy. The sloping foundations have a different character, and might, with less hesitation, be spoken of as ancient, both as to form and material.

It is a circumstance highly significant in relation to our present purpose, that, whereas the peculiar Jewish style of masonry—the finely chiselled (or, as it is improperly called, the bevelled edge) stone, is nowhere found at Jerusalem rising more than a course or two above the surface—except as *reconstructed*, and where it occupies an irregular position—*away* from the Holy City it is found in all its pristine integrity and beauty, rearing itself aloft to a great height! Thus it appears in the buttresses and walls of the quadrangle of the Great Mosque at Hebron. *There*, a collocation of these wrought stones *in perfect alternation*, as to their adjustment, strikes the eye. Upon the one structure the word “overturn it,” has taken effect; the other has met no such destiny.

Supposing that we had nothing further in view than to authenticate, by all available means, the narrative of the WAR, as given by Josephus, the modern Jerusalem affords this attestation, and in a language not to be misunderstood it gives evidence in his behalf. This evidence, the more attentively it is regarded, so much the more distinctly does it confirm what he says—both as to the magnificence of the city in his times, and as to the extent to which the work of demolition was carried. This writer tells us that the city, and its temple, had been constructed, at the first, in a manner the most substantial and costly; and particularly, that stones of enormous dimensions had been laid at the foundation of its principal structures, and of the temple especially.

Now it is *such* stones, and these wrought in the most costly manner, that offer themselves to view wherever we examine the existing architectural

remains *at a low level*. The historian further tells us that, at a time not far remote from his own, these original structures had been extended and repaired in a manner the most sumptuous and admirable, and that this was done by a monarch who, priding himself upon his architectural munificence, and commanding ample means, employed them through a course of years in the embellishment and enlargement of the temple. This further statement is borne out by an examination of those deep-seated remains, in which the Roman style of Herod's time is commingled, in subterraneous passages, with cyclopean masonry, manifestly belonging to a far more remote time. Thus far the statements of Josephus are sustained by those palpable evidences which the industry of modern explorers has brought to light.

But we may safely set a foot further onward in making our way over the surface of these remains.—Josephus, in summing up his narrative of the fall of his country, and of the overthrow of the Jewish metropolis, tells us that the Roman legions, by Cæsar's command, overturned everything—city and temple—saving only the western portion of the city wall, and three of the principal towers; and that in carrying forward this work of demolition, Jerusalem, and its defences, were so “laid even” as that strangers, in visiting the site, should scarcely discern any indications of its ever having been inhabited.

In other words, and rejecting what may seem hyperbolic in the writer's style, Josephus affirms that, with the exceptions specified, the vanquished city—its walls, its temple, its palaces—were laid even with the ground. This overturning of structures so massive, and so solidly put together, was deliberately effected by the Roman legion encamped there in charge of the place, and for whose protection the western wall was left standing.

Now here again that which the Jewish historian thus formally and distinctly affirms—and in affirming which he is supported by the writers of his time—is, in a very convincing manner, placed before our eyes in the existing remains of the city and temple. Here are the *materials*—materials corresponding with the description he gives of the primeval structure:—but these materials, wherever we meet them at all coming to, or rising above the level of the surrounding surface, are not now found in the position in which they would, at the first, have been placed. Stones of enormous size are confusedly intermixed with fragments and with stones of a middle size, and these often *wrongly placed*, as to their faces and order.

It might have well satisfied the conditions of an argument such as that which we have in hand, if the vast masses of the ancient city and temple were now found choking the ravines and valleys around, in hideous confusion. But it is not so; something more of historic evidence is presented by these remains, such as we find them. The materials have been gathered up, and have been replaced upon their original and undisturbed foundations. This has been done in the only manner that was practicable *in such a case*. Yet, in doing it, decorations have been wrought into the re-edification which,

by their architectural characteristics, indicate the *time* of the restoration, as well as show its purposes.

We pass forward a sixty years, and then find precisely that which the phenomena demand—namely, a restoration of these structures, by a Roman emperor, and under circumstances such as these phenomena suggest. Then, further, the date, the antiquity, and the integrity of this re-edification is vouched for by the architectural characteristics of the motley superstructure. Here are before us the *strata* of seventeen centuries:—the leisurely deposits of the successive military inundations that have swept over and rested upon Palestine. We have, without risk of error, the series of formations—Turkish, Crusading, Saracenic, Byzantine, Roman. Each of these masters of the site has set his mark upon the Haram wall, and has consigned the accumulating mass to the guardianship of his successor, safe and entire, to yield its testimony in due time in confirmation of eternal Truth.

In retracing the steps of the argument which has here been pursued, we find room, at several intermediate points, for a choice of suppositions, none of which, however, can invalidate our conclusion. Thus, for instance, the superstructures—one or other of them, may be assigned to earlier or later times, as may seem to be required by an examination of their characteristics. Let that which has been attributed to the age of Hadrian, and has been thought to belong to the “*Ælia Capitolina*,” be assigned to the times of Justinian, and be taken as part of the great works effected by him, as related by Procopius:—or again, what has been attributed to Justinian—let it be placed to the account of the Crusaders. Other similar interchanges we might admit, and yet leave undisturbed the premises of our argument, and the conclusion:—Provided always, that we do not break up the order of time so, for instance, as to place Crusading remains *lower down* than Byzantine, or Turkish works below the Norman.

These necessary cautions observed, we return to the unquestionable indications of a series of constructions, and of reconstructions, dating backward through many centuries, and indicative of the successive occupation of the site by those whom history declares to have expelled each other in turn, and showing that a vast and costly structure which, at the head of this series, rested upon the site, has been overthrown, either down to its very lowest ranges, or at least down to those foundations which were far below the eye, at the time of that overthrow.

The *one* supposition which might exclude our inference, and so destroy our argument, is that one which we are forbidden to entertain by the actual state of the Wall—namely, that, in its present confused condition, it has remained untouched from the times of Herod the Great. Palpable facts stand in the way of any *such* supposition, not to insist upon its contrariety to the entire testimony of written history. But if this may not be thought, then the fulfilment of our Lord’s predictions is vouched for by every thing *ancient* which now rests upon the site of the Holy City.

THE following are the names of the Jewish Months, together with the corresponding names—borrowed from the Macedonian Calendar—by which they are designated in the Jewish War :—

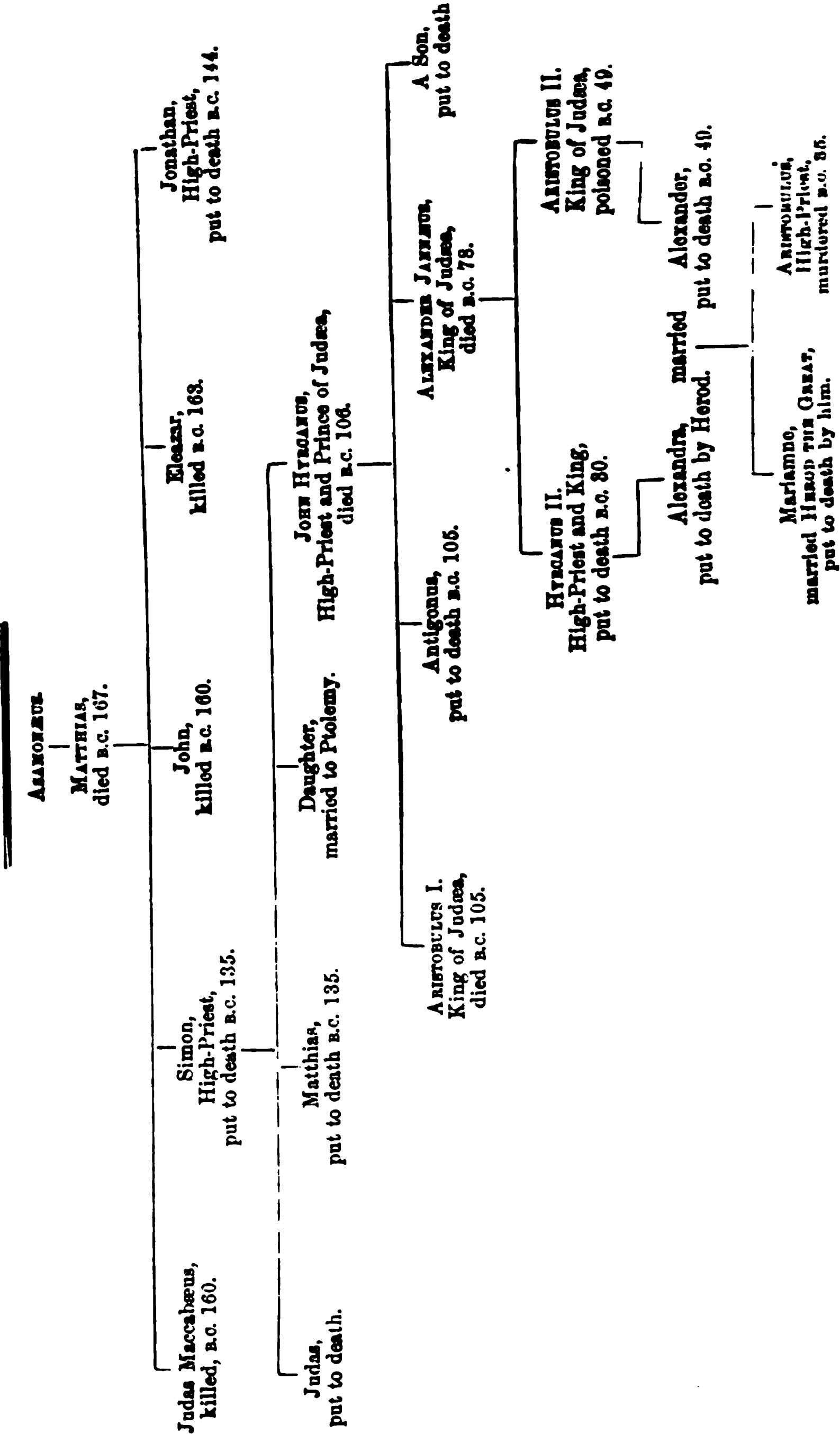
| | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|---|------------------------|
| Nisan or Abib | Xanthicus | = | March and April. |
| Jar | = Artemisius | = | April and May. |
| Sivan | = Dæsius | = | May and June. |
| Thamuz | = Panomus | = | June and July. |
| Ab | = Loüs | = | July and August. |
| Elul | = Gorpisæus | = | August and September. |
| Tisri | = Hyperberetæus | = | September and October. |
| Marchesvan | = Dius | = | October and November. |
| Chasleu | = Apellæus | = | November and December. |
| Tebeth | = Audenæus | = | December and January. |
| Sebat | = Peritius | = | January and February. |
| Adar | = Dystrus | = | February and March. |

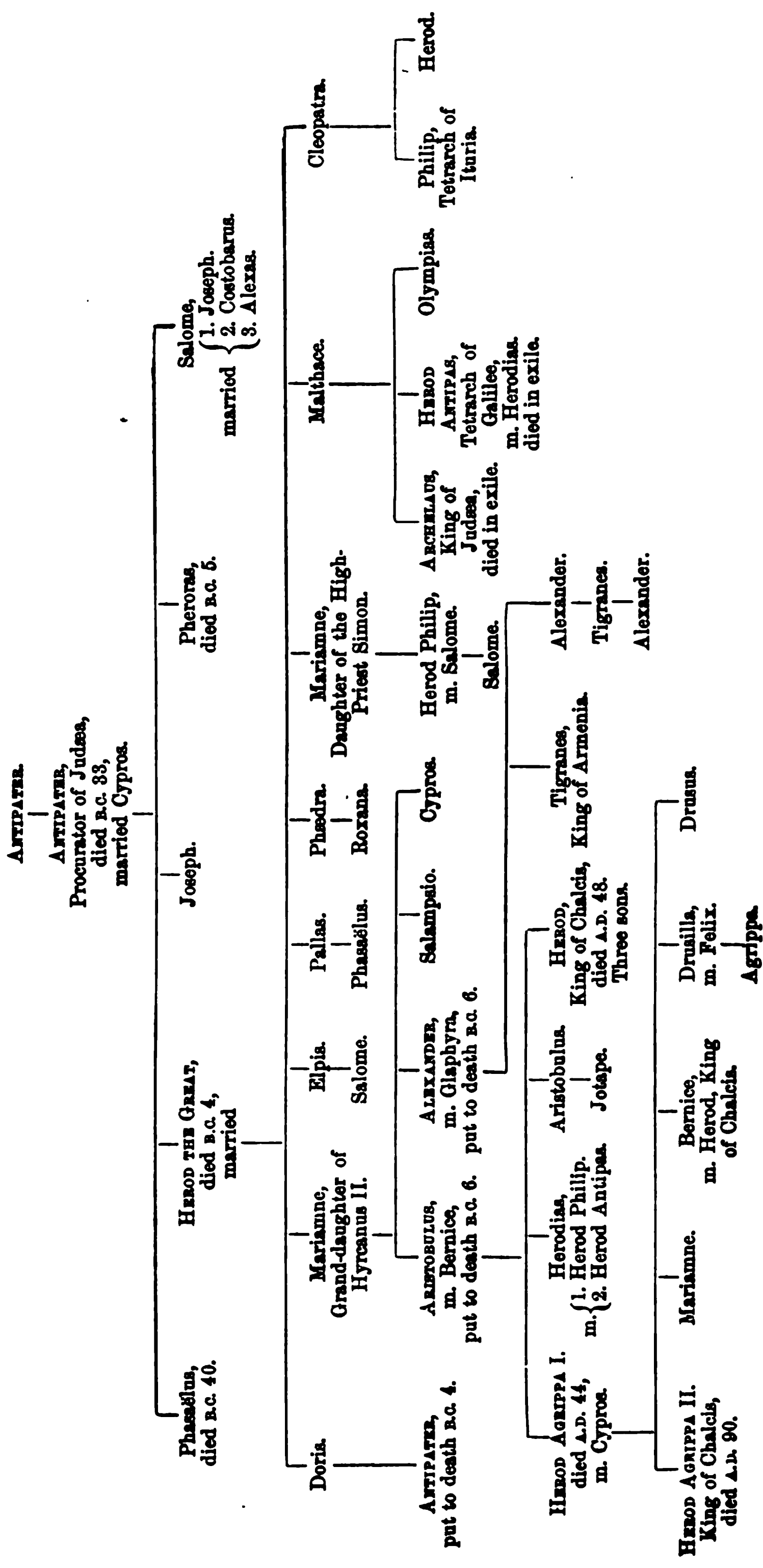
The year being lunar, these months consisted of 29 and 30 days alternately ; the first month being, as is commonly supposed, one of 30 days, the second one of 29, and so on. This gives a year of 354 days, which is too short by nearly $11\frac{1}{4}$ days. To make up this deficiency, a month of 30 days was intercalated every two or three years ; there being three such months in every 8 years ($8 \times 11\frac{1}{4} = 90$). This month was inserted after Adar, or Dystrus, and was called Ve-adar. The Paschal limits being March 18 and April 16, both inclusive, the 15th of Xanthicus, which was the Feast-day of Unleavened Bread, was always the day, between those limits, on which the full moon fell.

The following is a list of the days (as thus determined) on which the first of Xanthicus fell in the five years from the outbreak of the Jewish War (b. ii. c. 15) to the destruction of Jerusalem, and will enable the reader to reduce the dates, as given by Josephus, to the corresponding dates according to our reckoning :—

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---------|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| A.U.C. 819 | . | . | . | . | A.D. 66 | . | . | . | . | March 15 |
| „ 820 | . | . | . | . | „ 67 | . | . | . | . | „ 5 (intercal.) |
| „ 821 | . | . | . | . | „ 68 | . | . | . | . | „ 28 |
| „ 822 | . | . | . | . | „ 69 | . | . | . | . | „ 12 (intercal.) |
| „ 823 | . | . | . | . | „ 70 | . | . | . | . | „ 31 |

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ASMONÆAN OR MACCABÆAN FAMILY.







INDEX TO THE TWO VOLUMES.

- ABILA**, a city of *Peræa*, vol. i. page 215; ii. 90.
Abraim, tomb of, at *Hebron*, ii. 97. (*Plate*.)
Absalom, a follower of *Manahem*, i. 236.
Acedasa, a village of *Judæa*, i. 92.
Achabare, a town of *Upper Galilee*, i. 53.
Achiabus, cousin-german of *Herod the Great*, i. 180, 194.
Acme, a female servant of *Julia the empress*, i. 177, 180.
ACRA, the part of *Jerusalem* north of *Zion*, i. 91, 92; ii. 125; burnt, 202. (*Plates*.)
Acrabatena, one of the toparchies of *Judæa*, ii. 95, 96.
Acrabatta, a town of *Judæa*, ii. 10.
Actium, battle of, i. 140.
Adiabene, a region of *Assyria*, i. 230, 244.
Adida, a town of *Judæa*, ii. 94.
Adoreon, a town of *Judæa*, i. 94, 108.
Æbutius. See *Ebutius*.
Æmilius Jucundus, a Roman commander, i. 246.
Eneas, a citizen of *Tarichæa*, i. 252.
Eneas, a Jewish deserter, ii. 142.
HEROD AGRIPPA I. OF **AGRIPPA THE GREAT**, son of *Aristobulus*, and grandson of *Herod the Great*, i. 25; 85; 164; is imprisoned by *Tiberius*, but released and appointed tetrarch by *Caligula*, 207; his services on the accession of *Claudius*, 210; his death, 211; clxx. [compare *Acts* xii.]; wall built by him at *Jerusalem*, ii. 126.
HEROD AGRIPPA II. son of *Herod Agrippa I.* by *Cypros*, i. 25; 72; his letters to *Josephus*, 73; 77; made king, 212, 214; 221; 224; his speech to the Jews on the power of the Romans, 225-232; is insulted by the Jews, 232; 234; 240; 242; 244; ii. 7; 54; goes to Rome, 95; cxliii. cxlix. [Compare *Acts* xxv. and xxvi.]
Agrippa, Marcus Vipsanius, the friend of *Augustus*, i. 142.
Agrippa, Fonteius. See *Fonteius*.
Agrippa, son of *Josephus*, i. 31, 80.
Agrippina, wife of the Emperor *Claudius*, i. 215.
Agrippium, a building in *Herod's* palace, i. 142.
Agrippium, formerly called *Anthedon*, i. 144. See *Anthedon*.
Alans, a people of *Scythia*, ii. 235.
ALBINUS, procurator of *Judæa*, i. 217, 218; ii. 197.
ALEXANDER of *Macedon*, i. 240.
ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, son of *Hyrcanus*, king of *Judæa*, i. 97; contest with *Demetrius Eucærus*, 98; death, 100; ii. 229.
Alexander, a friend of *Antony*, i. 141.
Alexander, a Jew of *Cyrene*, ii. 251.
Alexander, father of *Tiberius Alexander*, ii. 181.
Alexander, an insurgent leader, i. 213.
Alexander, son of *Alexander*, and grandson of *Herod the Great*, i. 164.
Alexander, son of *Aristobulus*, i. 107, seq. 111.
ALEXANDER, son of *Herod the Great*: sent to Rome, i. 149; *Antipater* plots against him, 151, 152; 154; is imprisoned by *Herod*, 155; *Archelaus* diverts *Herod's* purpose, 156, 157; *Alexander* is imposed on by *Eurycles*, 159; his trial, 162, 163; is strangled by *Herod*, 164; his posterity, 212.
Alexander, a young man who pretends to be son of *Herod*, i. 198, seq.
Alexander, *Tiberius*, procurator of *Judæa*. See *Tiberius*.
Alexander, monument of, at *Jerusalem*, ii. 140.
Alexander Balas, king of *Syria*, clxv.
Alexandra, or *Salome*, wife of *Aristobulus*, i. 97.
Alexandra, wife of *Alexander Jannæus*, i. 100.
Alexandra, daughter of *Aristobulus*, i. 111.
ALEXANDRIA, of *Egypt*, i. 230; massacre of the resident Jews, 240, 241; description of its harbour, ii. 103, 104; 107, 225, 249, 250.
Alexandria, lake of, in *Egypt*, ii. 46.
Alexandrium, a fortress of *Judæa*, i. 103, 107, 109.
Alexas, a friend of *Herod the Great*, i. 166, 180.
Alexas, a Jewish warrior, ii. 178, 183.

INDEX.

- Alienus, Cæcinnæ.** See *Cæcinnæ*.
- Aliturus, a comedian—favourite of Nero,** i. 38.
- Alurns, a town of Judæa,** ii. 97.
- Amathus, a fortress beyond the Jordan,** i. 97, 98, 108.
- Ammaus, or Emmaus, a town of Judæa,** i. 194, 195; ii. 10, 90, 238.
- Ammaus, or Emmaus, a village of Galilee,** ii. 54.
- Amygdalon, a pool in Jerusalem,** ii. 156.
- Ananias, son of Sadduk,** i. 237, 255.
- Ananias, a Jewish zealot,** ii. 162.
- Ananias, a Pharisee,** i. 54, 65, 68.
- Ananias, high priest,** i. 214, 234, 236. [Compare Acts xxiii. xxiv.]
- Ananus, son of Ananias the high priest,** i. 214.
- ANANUS, chief priest, leader of the moderate party at Jerusalem,** i. 53, 67, 248, 257; excites the people against the Zealots, ii. 65-70; 73; death and character, 80.
- Ananus, father of Jonathan,** i. 214.
- Ananus, son of Jonathan,** i. 245.
- Ananus, son of Bamadus, a follower of Simon,** ii. 162, 191.
- Ananus, monument of, near Jerusalem,** ii. 160.
- Anathoth, a village about four miles north of Jerusalem.** Probably where Titus encamped, ii. 117, cxvi. See *Gabath-Saul*. (Plate.)
- Andromeda, chains of, at Joppa,** ii. 39.
- Annius, Lucius, a Roman military tribune,** ii. 94.
- Anthedon, a town of Judæa, afterwards called Agrippium,** i. 97, 144; 238.
- Antigonus, son of Hyrcanus,** i. 95.
- ANTIGONUS, king of Judæa, son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Alexander Jannæus:** sent to Rome, i. 107, 112; makes head against Herod, 118, 120; declared king of Judæa by the Parthians, 123; besieges Masada, 126; contest with Herod, 127, 128, 130; gains a victory, 131; defeated, 132; beheaded, 135; ii. 149.
- ANTIOCH, capital of Syria,** i. 145, 240, 242; ii. 7; massacre of the Jews, 219, 220; 224.
- Antioch, ravine of,** i. 100.
- ANTIOCHUS IV. king of Syria, surnamed EPIPHANES,** i. 88, 90; dies, 91; ii. 149, 219; clxiii. clxiv.
- Antiochus V.—Eupator,** i. 91.
- Antiochus VI.—Theos,** i. 92; clxv.
- Antiochus VII.—Sidetes,** i. 92, 93.
- Antiochus VIII.—Grypus (Aspendius),** i. 94.
- Antiochus XI. son of Antiochus Grypus.** (Plate.)
- Antiochus XII.—Dionysus,** i. 99.
- Antiochus, king of Commagene,** i. 242; ii. 156, 233-235.
- Antiochus Epiphanes, son of the same,** ii. 156, 234, 235.
- Antiochus, a Jew of Antioch,** ii. 219, 220.
- ANTIPAS, or HEROD ANTIPAS, son of Herod the Great, by Malthace,** i. 165; declared
- ANTIPAS (continued.)**
his successor by Herod the Great, 178; 181; repairs to Rome, 189; made tetrarch by Augustus, 198; 206; banished to Lyons and then to Spain, 207; married Herodias. [Compare Matt. xiv. 3; Mark vi. 17-28; Luke iii. 19; xxiii. 6-12.]
- Antipas, a relation of king Agrippa,** i. 233.
- Antipas, a Jew of Jerusalem,** ii. 64.
- ANTIPATER, the Idumæan, father of Herod the Great,** i. 102, &c.; his sons, 110; he pays court to Julius Cæsar, 111; is made procurator of Judæa, 113, &c.; 116; is poisoned by Malichus, 117; lxxxix. cxlvii.
- ANTIPATER, son of Herod the Great by Doris,** i. 119, 165. The history of Antipater is contained in the War, book i. chap. xxii.—xxxiii. See especially i. 146; he calumniates his brothers, 149; his craft, 151; he makes Eurycles his tool, 159, &c.; his schemes against his nephews, 164, &c.; 166; goes to Rome, 167; his schemes are detected, 169-174; his trial, 174-178; his death, 181.
- Antipater, a Samaritan,** i. 170.
- Antipater, son of Salome, the sister of Herod,** i. 166, 190.
- Antipatria, a district in Judæa,** i. 99, 243.
- Antipatria, a town of Judæa,** i. 144; ii. 90.
- Antiphilus, a creature of Antipater's,** i. 170.
- ANTONIA, a tower adjoining the Temple,** formerly called Baris, i. 95, 101; repaired by Herod, 142; 224; taken by the insurgent Jews, 235; ii. 126; a full description of it, 184; 145; 161; 172; it resists the attacks of the Romans, 173; but is at last taken, 177; is destroyed, 184. See *Bethesda*, *Pool of*.
- Antonius, prefect of Ascalon,** ii. 6, 7.
- Antonius Silo, a military tribune,** ii. 44.
- Antonius, a Roman centurion,** ii. 32.
- Antonius Primus.** See *Primus*.
- Antonius Julianus, Marcus, procurator of Judæa,** ii. 191.
- ANTONY, MARK,** i. 108, 119, 130, 136, 141.
- Anuath Barceos, a town of Judæa,** ii. 9.
- Apamea, a town of Syria,** i. 115, 240.
- Aphek, a tower in Samaria,** i. 243.
- Aptha, a town of Judæa,** ii. 66.
- Apollo, temple of, at Rome,** i. 196.
- Apollonia, a town of Palestine,** i. 108.
- Arabia,** i. 230.
- Arabians,** i. 196.
- Arbela, a town of Galilee,** i. 67, 128.
- Arbela, cave of, in Galilee,** i. 53.
- Arcæa, a town of Phœnicia,** ii. 224.
- Arch, remains of.** See *Bridge*. (Plate.)
- Archelaus, king of Cappadocia,** i. 148, 150, 156, 157.
- ARCHELAUS, king of Judæa, son of Herod the Great by Malthace,** i. 165; studies at Rome, 172; succeeds his father, 181, 187; slaughter in the temple, 188; he goes to Rome, 189, 190, 196, 197; made ethnarch, 198; banished to Gaul, 199, 200; clxix. [Compare Matt. ii. 22.]

INDEX.

- Archelaus, a Jew, son of Magadates, ii. 191.
Ardalas, a follower of Simon, ii. 202.
Aretas, king of Arabia, i. 99, 102.
Aretas Petræus, king of Arabia, i. 167, 195.
Arethusa, a city of Syria, i. 107.
Aristeus, a noble Jew, ii. 162.
Aristobulus I. king of Judæa, son of Hyrcanus, i. 95; clxvi.
ARISTOBULUS II. king of Judæa, son of Alexander Jannæus, by Alexandra, i. 100; proclaimed king, 101, 102; obtains the assistance of Scaurus, 103; 104; 105; defeated by the Romans, 109; 110.
ARISTOBULUS, son of Herod the Great by Mariamne, i. 148; plotted against, 153, 155; imposed on by Eurycles, 159; thrown into chains by Herod, 162; strangled, 164; his posterity, 212.
Aristobulus, son of Aristobulus, and grand-son of Herod the Great, i. 164, 212.
Aristobulus, son of Herod king of Chalcis, by Mariamne, i. 212, 215.
Aristobulus, king of Chalcidice, ii. 234.
Arius, a Roman centurion, i. 194.
Arpha, a town of Judæa, ii. 10.
Artabazes, son of Tigranes, i. 136.
Artorius, a Roman soldier, ii. 187.
Arus, a town of Judæa, i. 195.
Asamon, a mountain of Galilee, i. 243.
Ascalon, a city of Judæa, i. 145, 198, 238, 239; ii. 6.
Asmonæan family (Maccabees), i. 25, 88; clxiv. &c.
Asochæus, king of Egypt, ii. 209.
Asochis, a town of Galilee, i. 55, 58, 75, 97.
ASPHALTIC LAKE (DEAD SEA), ii. 46, 90; described, 91, 93; 229; cx. cxii. cxiv. (Plates.)
Assyrians, camp of, in Jerusalem, ii. 140, 159.
Athenio, a general of Cleopatra, i. 137.
Athrongæus, a Jewish leader, i. 194.
Atratinus, a Roman orator, i. 125.
AUGUSTUS, EMPEROR, i. 140, 178, 181, 196, 199. (Plate.)
Auranitis, a district of Palestine, i. 141, 198.
Azotus, a town of Judæa, i. 108, 198; ii. 63.
Baalbec, Stone at, cxvi. (Plate.)
Baaras, a plant, growing on a spot of the same name, ii. 230.
Baca, a town of Galilee, ii. 8.
Bacchides, in command at Jerusalem, under Antiochus Epiphanes, i. 90.
Balanea, a town of Syria, i. 146.
Banditti. See Brigands. (Plates.)
Banus, a hermit, preceptor of Josephus, i. 32; cxxx.
Baris, the former name of the Antonia, i. 95. See Antonia.
Barazpharnes, a Parthian satrap, i. 120.
Bassus, Cecilius, a Roman general, i. 115.
Bassus, Lucilius, a legate, ii. 229, 231, 232.
Batanea, a district of Palestine, i. 144, 198, 240; ii. 10.
Bathyllus, a freedman of Antipater, i. 171.
Bedriacum, a town of Italy, ii. 98.
Beit Jenn, a pass on the road from Cæsarea Philippi to Tyre, lxxxiv. (Plate.)
Beleus, a river of Phœnicia, i. 208.
Bemeselis, a town of Judæa, i. 99.
BERNICE, daughter of Agrippa I. by Cypros, i. 25, 211, 212; intercedes for the Jews, 221, 222. [Compare Acts xxv. 13, 23, and xxvi. 30.]
Bernice, daughter of Salome, and wife of Aristobulus, i. 164.
Bernice, wife of Alexander of Cyrene, ii. 251.
Bernicianus, son of Herod Agrippa, i. 212.
Bersobe, a fortress of Galilee, i. 53; ii. 8.
BRBYTUS (Beyroot), i. 145, 162, 195; ii. 104, 219.
Besara (Basara), a town of Galilee, i. 45.
Besimoth, a town of Peræa, ii. 90.
Betaris, a town of Idumæa, ii. 91.
Betharamathon, a town of Peræa, i. 194.
Bethela (Bethel), a town of Judæa, ii. 99.
Bethennabrin, a village of Peræa, ii. 88.
Bethesda, Pool of, at Jerusalem, was probably the ditch of the Antonia. See Antonia, cv. (Plate.)
Bethezob, a village beyond the Jordan, ii. 188.
Bethhoron, a pass in the hill country of Judæa, i. 213, 244, 246.
Bethleptepha, a toparchy of Judæa, ii. 90.
Bethmaus, a town of Galilee, i. 39.
Bethsana (Bethshan, or Scythopolis). See Scythopolis. (Plate.)
Bethso, a place in Jerusalem, ii. 126.
Bethsuron, a town of Palestine, i. 91.
Bethzacharias, a pass in the hill country, i. 91.
Bezedel, a town of Palestine, ii. 7.
BEZETHA, or "New Town," the northern part of Jerusalem, i. 223, 245; ii. 126, 134, 159. (Plates.)
Bitumen of the Dead Sea, ii. 93.
Borcæus, a Jew in the service of king Agrippa, i. 244.
Brazen gate of the Temple, i. 233; ii. 131, 196.
Bridge from Zion to the Temple, i. 105, 225; ii. 199, 204, xxv. to xxix. cix. (Three Plates.)
Brigands, infesting Palestine, i. 34, 129, 215-218, 238, 250, 258, lxxxvi. cxxxiii. cxli. cxlii. cxlv. See Sikara. (See Plates, Ibn Ma'an and Hatin.)
Britons, i. 227; Roman wall, 229.
Britannicus, son of Claudius, i. 215.
Brixellum, a town of Italy, ii. 98.
Brundusium, of Italy, i. 125.
BRUTUS, MARCUS, i. 115.
Byblus (Gebal, or Djebail), a coast town of Phœnicia, i. 145, xcv. xcvi. (Plate.)
Cæcinna Alienus, a Roman general in the service of Vitellius, ii. 98, 106.

INDEX.

- Cænopolis** (Bezetha), i. 245; ii. 128, 159.
See Bezetha.
- CÆSAR, JULIUS**, i. 112, 113; assassinated, 115; lxxxix. (*Plate*.)
- CÆSAR, OCTAVIUS**, (AUGUSTUS). *See* AUGUSTUS. (*Plate*.)
- CÆSARIA MARITIMA**, formerly called Strato's tower, a chief city and port of Palestine, i. 107; built by Herod, 143; 173, 214, 216, 219, 237; ii. 38, 63, 217, 244; xlix.—lvi. (*Three Plates*.)
- Cæsar, Sextus**. *See* Sextus.
- Cæsarea Philippi**, a city of Palestine, at the foot of Lebanon, i. 40, 206; ii. 40, 217, 218; lxxxiv.
- Cæsarium**, a structure in Herod's palace at Jerusalem, i. 142.
- Cæsenius Pæstus**. *See* Pæstus.
- Caius**, a Roman military tribune, i. 195.
- CALIGULA** (Caius Cæsar), i. 190, 207, 209.
- Callinicus**, son of Antiochus, king of Commagene, ii. 234, 235.
- Callirrhoe**, a thermal spring near the Dead Sea, i. 180.
- Camp**, the Roman, described, ii. 12; camp of Romans at Jerusalem, 123.
- Cana**, a town of Galilee, i. 41; cxl.
- Cana**, a town of Judæa, i. 99, 132.
- Canatha**, a town of Colesyria, i. 137.
- Capellus, Julius**, a citizen of Tiberias, i. 35, 39, 65.
- Capharabin**, a town of Judæa, ii. 99.
- Caphareccho**, a town of Galilee, i. 53.
- Capharnaum**, a spring in Galilee, ii. 46; lxxiv.
- Caphartoba**, a town of Idumæa, ii. 91.
- Caphetha**, a place in Judæa, ii. 99.
- Capito**, a Roman centurion, i. 220.
- Capitol of Rome**, ii. 107.
- Carmel**, range of, i. 208, lxiii. (*See Plate of Malul*.)
- Carmel, Mount**, ii. 8.
- Casian Jupiter**, temple of, in Egypt, ii. 108.
- CASSIUS**—Roman general, i. 110; levies forces after Cæsar's death, 116.
- Castor**, a Jew, ii. 141, 142.
- Catapults**, &c., ii. 25, 126, 137.
- Catullus**, prefect of the Libyan Pentapolis, ii. 251, 252.
- Caverns in Jerusalem**, ii. 203, 206, 217, 218. *See* Vaults. (*See Plates of Pool of the Virgin, and Excavation in City Wall*.)
- Cedron**. *See* Kedron.
- Celadus**, a freedman of Augustus, i. 199.
- Celenderis**, a city of Cilicia, i. 173.
- Celer**, a military tribune, i. 214.
- Cendebeus**, a general in the service of Antiochus Sidetes, i. 92.
- Cenedæus**, a relative of king Monobazus, i. 244.
- Cepharnome**, i. 77.
- Cerealius, Sextus**, prefect of the fifth legion, i. 79; ii. 30, 99, 182, 191.
- Cerealius, Sextus**, a tribune, ii. 31.
- Cerealius, Petilius**, a Roman general in command in Britain, ii. 223.
- Cerealius Vitellianus**, a Roman general, ii. 229.
- CESTIUS GALLUS**, President of Syria, A.D. 65, i. 24, 76, 218, 224, 242, 243, seq.; his defeat, 247. (It is probably Cestius who is meant, i. 33, 34, where he is called Gessius.)
- Chabolo**, a town of Galilee, i. 56.
- Chagiras**, of Adiabene, ii. 157.
- Chalcis**, a city of Syria, i. 211.
- Chares**, a Jew of Gamala, kinsman of Philip, i. 52.
- Chares**, another Jew of Gamala, perhaps the son of the preceding, ii. 54, 58.
- Chebron**, or Chabron. *See* Hebron. (*Plates*.)
- Cheese-makers**, valley of, at Jerusalem. *See* Tyropæon. (*Plates*.)
- Chuthseans**, i. 94.
- Cilicians**, mercenaries in the service of Alexander Jannæus, i. 97.
- CLAUDIUS CÆSAR, EMPEROR**, i. 210.
- Classicus**, a German chief, ii. 222.
- Cleopatra**, wife of Ptolemy Physcon, i. 101.
- CLEOPATRA**, queen of Egypt, i. 119, 124, 135; ii. 240.
- Cleopatra**, a wife of Herod the Great, i. 165.
- Clitus**, a turbulent Jew of Tiberias, i. 51, 257.
- Colina**, i. 145.
- Collega**, Cneus, a Roman officer, ii. 220.
- Colonnades of the Temple**, i. 193, 212, 224, 232; ii. 129, 130, 134, 185, 186.
- Commagene**, kingdom of, on the Euphrates, ii. 234.
- Compsus**, son of Compsus, a citizen of Tiberias, i. 35.
- Coponius**, procurator of Judæa, i. 200.
- Coptus**, a city of Egypt, ii. 103.
- Coracin**, a fish, ii. 46.
- Corban**, the Jewish treasure, i. 206.
- Coreyra** (Corfu), island of, ii. 217.
- Corea**, a town on the borders of Judæa, i. 103; ii. 91.
- Corinthus**, an Arabian, one of Herod's guards, i. 168.
- Cornelius**, a Roman soldier, brother of Longus, ii. 187.
- Costobarus**, son-in-law of Herod the Great, i. 154, 233, 248.
- Cotylas**. *See* Zeno.
- Crassus**, a Roman general, i. 110.
- Cremona**, a town of Italy, ii. 106.
- Crispus**, son of Compsus, a prefect of Agrippa, i. 35.
- Crispus**, a follower of Agrippa, i. 75.
- Cumanus**, procurator of Judæa, i. 212, 213, 214.
- Cuspius Fadus**, procurator of Judæa, i. 212.
- Cydaesa**, a town of Phœnicia, ii. 61.
- Cypros**, wife of Antipater, mother of Herod the Great, i. 110.
- Cypros**, a daughter of Herod the Great, betrothed to Pheroras, alluded to, i. 154.
- Cypros**, daughter of Phasaëlus, wife of Agrippa, i. 212.

INDEX.

- Cyprus, a fort near Jericho, i. 143, 144, 240.
 Cyrene, of Libya, i. 79, 229; ii. 251.
 Cyrenius, (Quirinus,) president of Syria, A.D. 7; i. 235. [Compare Luke ii. 1, 2.]
 Cyrus, ii. 149.
- Dabaritta, a town of Galilee, i. 46, 68, 252; cxli.
 Dagon, a fortress near Jericho, i. 93.
 Damascenus, Nicolaus. See Nicolaus.
 Damascus Gate at Jerusalem, xlvii. lxxxvi. lxxxvii. (Plate.)
 DAMASCUS, i. 101, 145; massacre of Jews there, 248; ii. 245.
 Danube, i. 227.
 Daphne, a suburb of Antioch, i. 119, 131.
 Daphne, a place in Palestine, ii. 53.
 Darius, a general of king Agrippa, i. 234.
 Dassion, a noble of Tarichæa, i. 46.
 David, ii. 209.
 DEAD SEA. See Asphaltic Lake. (Plates.)
 Decapolis, a district of Palestine, i. 78.
 Dellius, a friend of Mark Antony, i. 126.
 Delta, the name of the Jewish quarter of Alexandria, i. 241.
 Demetrius II.—Nicator, king of Syria, clxv.
 Demetrius III.—Eucærus, i. 98.
 Demetrius, a freedman of Pompey, i. 106.
 Dicæarchia (Puteoli), in Italy, i. 33, 199, cxxxii.
 Didius, Quintus, president of Syria, A.D. 32; i. 140.
 Diogenes, a friend of Alexander Jannæus, i. 101.
 Diophantus, a secretary of Herod the Great, i. 160.
 Diospolis, a city of Arabia, i. 103, (?) 137.
 Djebail, or Gebal (Byblus), xcv. See Byblus. (Plate.)
 Dolesus, a magistrate of Gadara, ii. 88.
 Domitia, wife of Domitian, i. 81; cliii.
 DOMITIAN, EMPEROR, i. 80; ii. 107, 223, 228; vi. clii. (Plate.)
 Domitius Sabinus, a military tribune, ii. 31, 144.
 Dora, a maritime town of Phœnicia, i. 92, 107.
 Doris, first wife of Herod the Great, i. 119, 146, 165, 169.
 Drusilla, daughter of Agrippa, i. 211. [Compare Acts xxiv. 24.]
 Drusium, a tower at Cæsarea, i. 143.
 Drymus, a woody district near Mount Carmel, i. 120.
- Ebutius, a Roman decurion, i. 45; ii. 17, 56.
 Ecbatana, a town of Batanæa, i. 38.
 Ecdippon, a town of Phœnicia, i. 121.
 Egypt, i. 230; description of, ii. 103.
 Egyptian false prophet, i. 216.
 Eleazar, the Maccabee, i. 91.
 Eleazar, son of Dinæus, an insurgent chief, i. 213, 215.
 Eleazar, son of Ananias, i. 232, 236, 248.
- ELIAZAR, son of Simon, i. 248; ii. 72, 113, 135.
 Eleazar, an adherent of Manahem, i. 236.
 Eleazar, a Jewish warrior, ii. 24.
 Eleazar, a Sikar, associate of Simon, ii. 96.
 Eleazar, nephew of Simon the son of Gioras, ii. 190.
 Eleazar, a Jewish warrior at Machærus, ii. 231, 232.
 Eleazar, a Sikar; chief of the Jewish band at Masada, ii. 236; speech, 241–247.
 Elephantine, of Egypt, ii. 103.
 Eleusa, an island on the coast of Cilicia, i. 150.
 Eleutherus, a river of Phœnicia, i. 136.
 Elpis, wife of Herod the Great, i. 165.
 Elthemus, an Arabian chief, i. 139.
 Emesa, a city of Syria, ii. 234.
 Emmaus, a town of Judæa. See Ammaus.
 Emmaus, a place in Galilee. See Ammaus.
 Engaddi, a town on the shore of the Dead Sea, ii. 10, 87.
 Eniachim, one of the Pontifical courses, ii. 65.
 Epaphroditus, a friend and patron of Josephus, i. 80; cliii. cliv. [Compare Coloss. i. 7.]
 Ephraim, a town of Judæa, ii. 99.
 Erebintha, house of, a village near Jerusalem, ii. 160.
 ESSENES, SECT OF; account of them, i. 201–205.
 Essenes, gate of, at Jerusalem, ii. 126.
 Ethiopia, i. 230.
 Euaratus, a friend of Alexander son of Herod, i. 161.
 Eurycles, a Lacedæmonian, i. 158.
 Ezekias, son of Chobari, ii. 113.
- Fabius, i. 118.
 Fabius, a Roman centurion, i. 106.
 Fadus, Cuspius, procurator of Judæa, A.D. 44; i. 212.
 FAMINE IN JERUSALEM, ii. 152, 153, 160, 161, 163, 165, 166, 171, 188, 189, 203.
 Faustus, a Roman soldier, i. 105.
 FELIX, ANTONIUS, procurator of Judæa, A.D. 50; i. 214. [Compare Acts xxiii. xxiv.]
 Felix, a friend of Malichus, i. 118.
 Festus, Porcius, procurator of Judæa, A.D. 58; i. 217. [Compare Acts xxv.]
 Flavius Silva. See Silva.
 FLORUS, GESSIUS, procurator of Judæa, A.D. 64; i. 218, 220–225, 234. (Gessius is mentioned, i. 33 and 34, but probably Cestius Gallus is intended.)
 Fontcius Agrippa, consular legate, ii. 223.
 "Fortress," a place in Jerusalem, ii. 125.
 Frank Mountain (Herodium), lxxv. &c.—(Plate.)
 Fronto of Liternum, a Roman general, ii. 191, 207.
 Fuller's Tomb, at Jerusalem, ii. 126.
 Furius, a Roman centurion, i. 105.
- Gaba, a town of Galilee, i. 45, 238; ii. 8.
 Gabao, a place near Jerusalem, i. 244, 246.

INDEX.

- Gabara**, or **Gabarith**, a town of Galilee: it revolts, i. 46; 58, 59.
- Gabath-Saul**, (Anathoth?) a village four miles north of Jerusalem, ii. 117. (See *Plate of Anathoth*.)
- Gabinus**, Aulus, president of Syria, B.C. 57; i. 104, 107—110; ii. 229.
- Gadara** (Om Keis), chief city of Peræa: rebuilt by Pompey, i. 106, 198, 238, 240; taken by Vespasian, ii. 16, (?) 88, xxxv. &c. lxxxviii. (*Plate*.)
- Gadara**, a town of Coele Syria, near Ptolemais, ii. 16.
- Gadeira** (Cadiz), i. 227.
- GALBA**, EMPEROR, ii. 94.
- GALILEE**, i. 198, 213, 249; fortified, i. 53, 249; cxxxviii.; olives of, 251; description of it, ii. 8; finally subdued, 62. Maps of, cxvii. cxviii. (*Plates*.)
- Galilee**, Sea of. See **Gennesareth**.
- Gallicanus**, a Roman military tribune, ii. 33.
- Gallus**, Cestius. See **Cestius**.
- Gallus**, Cæsennius, commander of a legion, i. 243.
- Gallus**, Rubrius. See **Rubrius**.
- Gallus**, a Roman centurion, ii. 56.
- GAMALA**, a city of Gaulanitis: revolts, i. 52, 100; described, ii. 10, 53; taken by Vespasian, 54, 55.
- Gamala**, (Magdala?) a fortress of Galilee, i. 44, lxxii. (*Plate*.)
- Garis**, a town of Galilee, ii. 16.
- Garisime**, a village of Galilee, i. 76.
- Garizim**, Mount, near Samaria, i. 94; ii. 30.
- Garsis**, a town of Galilee, ii. 157.
- Gates of the temple**; described, ii. 130, 131.
- Gates of Jerusalem**. (*Plates—Golden Gate, Damascus Gate, &c.*)
- Gaul**, revolt in, ii. 90, 94, 222, 223.
- Gaulane**, a town of Batanea, i. 98, 100.
- Gaulanitis**, a region of Palestine, i. 53; ii. 8, 10.
- Gauls**, mercenaries of Herod, i. 182.
- Gaza**, i. 198, 238; ii. 108; cv. (*Plate*.)
- Gebal**, or **Djebail** (Byblus). See **Byblus**. (*Plate*.)
- Geman**, a village in the Great Plain, i. 213.
- Gennath**, a gate of Jerusalem, ii. 126.
- Gennesar**, or **Gennesareth**, a region on the shore of the Lake of Tiberias, ii. 46, lxxi. lxxiii. lxxiv. (*Plate*.)
- GENNESARETH**, LAKE OF, described, ii. 45. cvi. (*Five Plates*.)
- Gerasa** (Gerash), a city beyond Jordan, i. 99, 238, 240; ii. 94.
- Germans**, i. 229; they revolt, ii. 222, 223.
- Gessius Florus**. See **Florus**.
- Gihon**, pool of, at Jerusalem, lvii.—cxii. (*Plate*.)
- Gilead**, balm of, ii. 92.
- Ginæa**, or **Ginnabrin**, a village on the edge of the Great Plain, ii. 9, 91.
- GISCHALA** (el Jish), a city of Galilee, destroyed and rebuilt, i. 36; 40, 249, 257; ii. 53, 59-62.
- Gittha**, a fortress of Idumæa, i. 131.
- Glaphyra**, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, i. 152, 164, 200.
- Golden Calf**, temple of, ii. 53.
- Golden Gate of the Temple**, ii. 131.
- Golden Gate of modern Jerusalem**, xlv. xcviii. clxxix. (*Plate*.)
- Gophna**, a town of Judæa, i. 91; ii. 10, 117, 181.
- Gorion**, son of Nicomedes, i. 237.
- Gorion**, father of Joseph, i. 248.
- Gorion**, son of Joseph, ii. 66, 83.
- Grapte**, a relation of Izates, the king of Adiabene, ii. 100.
- Gratus**, a Jewish general, i. 193, 194, 196.
- GREAT PLAIN**, i. 208; ii. 10, 91, lxiv. cxli. (*Two Plates*.)
- Greeks**, i. 217, 241.
- Gyphtæus**, a Jewish warrior, ii. 178, 183.
- Hannibal**, i. 229.
- Haram at Jerusalem** (site of the Temple), xiv.—xxxii. xl. lxxxviii. xcv. ciii.—(*Fifteen Plates*.)
- Hatin**, a haunt of robbers in Galilee. See i. 129. (*Plate*.)
- HEBRON** (Chebron), account of, ii. 97; 99, xcii. c. (*Two Plates*.)
- Helena**, monuments of, at Jerusalem, ii. 118, 126.
- Helena**, palace of, at Jerusalem, ii. 135, 202.
- Heliopolis**, in Egypt, i. 90; ii. 250.
- Heracleopolis**, in Egypt, ii. 108.
- Hercules**, pillars of, i. 229.
- HEROD THE GREAT**, son of Antipater. The history of Herod is contained in the First Book of the War, chap. x.—xxxiii. See especially i. 110; made governor of Galilee by his father, 113, &c.; is made tetrarch by Antony, 119, 122; goes to Rome, 124, &c.; subdues the brigands, 129; revenges the death of his brother Joseph, 131, &c.; takes Jerusalem, 134, &c.; war with the Arabians, 137; after the defeat of Actium, he pays court to Augustus, 140, &c.; his buildings—Temple, Cæsarea, Herodium, &c. 142—146; his domestic troubles, 146—163; he murders his sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, 164; the plots of his son Antipater against him, 164—178; his death, 178—182. See also ii. 229, 238; his wife and children, i. 165. [See also the Genealogical Table of his family.] xxxvi. liv. lxx.—lxxvii. lxxxvi. clxvii.—clxix. [Compare Matt. ii. 3, &c.]
- Herod Philip**, son of Herod the Great, by Mariamne, daughter of the high priest Simon, i. 165, 167, 171. [Compare Matt. xiv. 3; Mark vi. 17; Luke iii. 19.]
- Herod**, son of Herod the Great, by Cleopatra of Jerusalem, i. 165.
- HEROD ANTIPAS**, son of Herod the Great, by Malthace. See **Antipas**.
- HEROD AGRIPPA I.** grandson of Herod the Great. See **Agrippa**.

INDEX.

- HEROD AGRIPPA II.** *son of Herod Agrippa I.*
See Agrippa.
- HEROD, KING OF CHALCIS,** *son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod the Great,* i. 164; made king of Chalcis by Claudius, 211; death, 212.
- Herod of Tiberias,** *son of Miarus,* i. 35.
- Herod of Tiberias,** *son of Gamalus,* i. 35.
- Herod,** *monuments of, near Jerusalem,* ii. 123, 160.
- HERODIAS,** *daughter of Aristobulus, by Bernice,* i. 164, 207. [Compare Matt. xiv. 3.]
- HERODIUM,** (Frank Mountain) *a fortress of Judæa,* i. 122, 144, 145, 182; ii. 10, 96, 99, 229, lxxv.-lxxix. (Plate.)
- Herodium,** *a fortress in Arabia, built by Herod,* i. 144.
- Hezekiah,** *a brigand chief,* i. 113, 194.
- Hezekiah,** *brother of Ananias the High Priest,* i. 235, 236.
- Hippene,** *a district of Palestine,* ii. 8.
- HIPPICUS,** *a fortress in Jerusalem,* i. 236; ii. 125, 126; described, 127; 215; xciii. xciv. (Two Plates.)
- Hippodrome,** *in Jerusalem,* i. 192.
- Hippos,** *a town of Galilee, the residence of Agrippa,* i. 25; 107, 240.
- Holy of the Holy,** *in the temple,* ii. 132.
- Homonœa,** *a place in Galilee,* i. 64.
- Hyrcania,** *king of,* ii. 235.
- Hyrcanium,** *a fortress of Palestine,* i. 107, 181.
- HYRCANUS, JOHN I.,** *son of Simon the Maccabee,* i. 93, 94; clxvi.
- HYRCANUS II.,** *the high priest, son of Alexander Jannæus,* i. 100, seq. 114, 119, 128; his death, 146; clxvi.
- Hyrcanus,** *son of Herod king of Chalcis by Bernice,* i. 212.
- Hyrcanus,** *son of Josephus,* i. 81, 80.
- Ibn' Ma'an,** *a haunt of robbers in Galilee.*
See i. 149. lxxxv.
- IDUMÆA,** i. 194, 196, 198, 248; ii. 10, 91, 96, 97; clix.
- IDUMÆANS,** ii. 72-83, 100, 185, 204, 237.
- Impostor,** *an Egyptian,* i. 216.
- Impostors at Jerusalem,** ii. 196.
- Ionia,** i. 145.
- Irenæus,** *a rhetorician,* i. 189.
- Iron mountain,** *east of the Dead Sea,* ii. 91; (Plate.)
- Ishmael,** *son of Phabus, a chief priest, his sons,* ii. 180.
- Isis,** *temple of, at Rome,* ii. 226.
- Itabyrium,** *a mountain in Galilee,* i. 110.
- Izates,** *son of queen Helena, and king of Adiabene,* ii. 100, 202.
- Jairus,** *father of Eleazar,* i. 236.
- Jamblicus,** *a Syrian chief,* i. 111.
- JAMES,** *son of Sosas, an Idumæan chief,* ii. 73, 97, 185, 178, 183, 204.
- James,** *a servant of Josephus,* i. 42, 59.
- Jamnia,** *a city of Judæa, near the coast,* i. 198, 224; ii. 10, 63, 90.
- Jamnia,** *or Jamnith, a town of Galilee,* i. 53; 249.
- JANNÆUS, ALEXANDER.** *See Alexander.*
- Jannæus,** *a noble of Tarichæa,* i. 46.
- Japha,** *a town of Galilee,* i. 53, 58; ii. 29.
- Japygian promontory,** ii. 217.
- Jardan,** *a village of Judæa,* ii. 9.
- Jardes,** *forest of,* ii. 238.
- Jeremiah,** *a Jewish commander, friend of Josephus,* i. 59, 77.
- JERICO:** *described,* i. 104; ii. 91, 92; i. 128, 132, 143, 180, 194; ii. 10, 89.
- JERUSALEM, CITY OF;** *described,* ii. 125-134; taken by Antiochus Epiphanes, i. 90; retaken by Judas Maccabæus, 91; taken by Pompey, 105; entered by Herod, 117; slaughter committed by him, 120; pillaged by the Parthians, 123; taken by Herod, 133-135; Herod's structures there, 142; insurrection against Herod, 179; massacre by Archelaus at the Passover, 188; insurrection at the Feast of Pentecost, 192; Varus marches on Jerusalem, 195; Pilate suppresses an insurrection there, 206, &c.; Agrippa surrounds it with a wall, 211; insurrection at the Passover, 212; disturbance at Florus taking the temple treasure, 220; massacre by Florus, 223; insurrection, and massacre of the Roman garrison, 232-237; Cestius attacks the city, 245, clxxi.; preparations for war, 257; John of Gischala flees thither, ii. 63; outrages of the brigands, 64; conflict between the people and the Zealots, 69; arrival of the Idumæans, 73; Idumæans enter, 78; massacre, 79, 81; Idumæans leave the city, 83; Simon son of Gioras enters, 100; conflicts of John, Simon, and the Zealots, 114, &c.; Titus appears before the city, 118; sally, 120, &c.; description of Jerusalem, 125-134; its walls, 125, &c.; towers, 127, &c.; temple, 129, &c.; colonnades, 130; gates of temple, 131; Antonia, 134; mounds constructed, 136, &c.; towers of the Romans, 139; first wall taken, 140; second wall stormed, 143; and lost, 144; famine, 152, 160, 188; mounds, 156, &c.; Romans surround the city with a wall, 159; wall of the Antonia falls, 173; conflict at the Antonia, 177, 183; colonnade burnt, 186, 190; conflagration of the temple, 192, &c.; upper town attacked, 199, &c., 204; towers taken, 205; massacre, 206; population, &c., 208; summary of history of Jerusalem, 209; city is razed, 215; Titus deplores its destruction, 225. Physical features of the site of Jerusalem, cxix.-cxxii.; notices of Jerusalem in classic authors, cxxvi. cxxvii.; date of its foundation, clxi.; events of the siege, clxxii.-clxxv.; the fulfilment of Christ's prediction regarding it, clxxv.-cxc.; vaults in Jerusalem, xiv.-xxv. xl. ciii. *see* Vaults. (Six Plates); golden gate of Jerusalem, xliv. (Plate); water supply of

INDEX.

JERUSALEM, CITY OF (*continued*).

- Jerusalem, pools, &c., lvii.-lxii. (*Five Plates*); streets of Jerusalem, xcvi. (*Two Plates*); city walls of Jerusalem, see Walls, and xxi. xxv.-xxxii. xliii.-xlvi. lxx. lxxxvii. (*Nine Plates*); walls of temple, see Haram. (*Eight Plates*); (*Plan of Jerusalem.*)
- Jesus, son of Thebuthi, a priest, ii. 205.
- Jesus, a chief priest, flies to Titus, ii. 180.
- Jesus, son of Ananus, a prophet, ii. 197.
- Jewish spoils, ii. 227, 228.
- JEWISH WAR, i. 85, 219, cxxxv. clv.
- Joazar, a colleague of Josephus, i. 34.
- Joazar, a Pharisee, i. 54, 69.
- Joesdrus, son of Nomicus, i. 255.
- John, the Maccabee, i. 92.
- John, a Jew of Casarea, i. 219.
- John the Essene, a Jewish commander, i. 249; ii. 6.
- John, son of Ananias, a Jewish commander, i. 249.
- John, son of Soas, an Idumæan chief, ii. 73; his death, 139.
- John, son of Dorcas, a Zealot, ii. 64.
- JOHN OF GISCHALA, son of Levi, his character, i. 231; ii. 59; obtains ascendancy in Gischala and rebuilds it, i. 36, 249; he obtains the monopoly of oil, 40, 251; endeavours to induce the Tiberians to revolt, 42, 254; tries to free himself from suspicion, 43; complains of Josephus at Jerusalem, 53, 255; attempts to entrap Josephus at Tiberias, 66; but is outwitted, 73, 74; John shuts himself up in Gischala, ii. 59; and outwitting Titus escapes to Jerusalem, 61; his reception there, 63; plays double between Ananus and the Zealots, 70, 71; aims at supreme power, 86; people rise against him, 100; he is confined to the temple, 101; his faction, 113; contest with the other two factions, 114, 115; constructs engines, 116; overcomes Eleazar's party, 122; his strength, 135; disposition of his forces, 140; he undermines the Roman mounds, 156; his sacrilege, 165; attempts to fire the Roman works, 172; invites Titus to a conference, 199, &c.; is taken by the Romans and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, 209; his outrages, 237.
- John, high priest, tomb of, ii. 136, 145, 185.
- Jonathan, surnamed Apphus, the Maccabee, i. 92; ii. 238; clxv.
- Jonathan, a Jew of Cyrene, i. 79; ii. 251, 252.
- Jonathan, a Pharisee, i. 54; his treachery, 56, 60, 63, 68.
- Jonathan, high priest, son of Ananus, i. 214, 215.
- Jonathan, son of Sisenna, i. 53.
- Jonathes, a Jew, challenges the Romans, ii. 185.
- JOPPA, or JAFFA, i. 126, 198, 242; ii. 10, 38; described, 39.

- JORDAN, operations near it, i. 77, 129; ii. 46, 89, xc. xci. (*See Plate, Tower near Jericho.*)
- Joseph, son of Antipater and brother of Herod the Great, i. 110, 122, 126, 131.
- Joseph, brother-in-law of Herod the Great, husband of Salome, i. 148.
- Joseph, nephew of Herod, i. 165, 196.
- Joseph, son of Gorion, i. 248.
- Joseph, son of Simon, i. 249.
- Joseph, a leading man of Gamala, i. 52; ii. 54, 58.
- Joseph, a chief priest, ii. 180.
- Joseph, grandfather of Flavius Josephus, i. 31.
- Josephus, son of Dalæus, ii. 195.
- JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS, son of Matthias, born A.D. 37. The events of his life are to be found mainly in the LIFE. His administration of Galilee also in the WAR, book ii. chap. xx. and xxi.; and his defence of Jotapata in the WAR, book iii. chap. vii. and viii.; for his personal character, see "Preliminary Essay," vol. i. pp. 1-23, and cxxii.-clix.; his descent, birth, and family, i. 31; his boyhood, he joins the Pharisees, 32; goes to Rome, 33; is deputed to govern Galilee, 34, 249; he finds it much disturbed, 35-38; his appointments of magistrates, &c., 249; goes to Tiberias on the conflagration of Herod's palace there, 39; is outwitted by John at Gischala, 40; confers with the brigands, 40; recounts his exploits, and the personal attachment of the Galileans to him, 41; his danger at Tiberias, 42, 254; goes to Sepphoris, 43; his treatment of Joshua, 44; protects Galilee from an incursion of Ebutius, 45; John's treason, 46; uproar against Josephus at Tarichæa, 47, 252; he punishes the ringleaders, 48, 253; protects certain subjects of Agrippa, 49; fortifies Tiberias, 50; his stratagem of the empty ships, 50, 51, 256; brings the insurgent leaders to Tarichæa, 51, 256; fortifies various towns in Galilee, 53, 249; disciplines the Galileans, 250; John plots against Josephus at Jerusalem, 53, 255; deputation sent from Jerusalem to Galilee, 54, 255; Josephus' dream, 55; the treachery of the embassy, 56, is defeated by Josephus, 57-62; he sends an embassy to Jerusalem, 56; attempt on his life at Tiberias, 64-66; escapes on the lake, 66; arrests the messengers sent by John to Jerusalem, 68; takes Tiberias, 69; Josephus compares his narrative with that of Justus, 70-73; the testimony of Titus and Agrippa to Josephus' accuracy, 73; he takes Sepphoris, and rescues it from destruction by a ruse, 74, 257; rescues Tiberias from pillage, 75, 257; retakes Sepphoris, 76; action against the forces of Agrippa—Josephus is thrown from his horse, 77; on Vespasian's arrival

INDEX.

JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS (*continued.*)

in Galilee, Josephus attacks Sepphoris, ii. 10; flies to Tiberias, 16; throws himself into Jotapata, 17; makes a sally, 18; his defence against the engines, 20; his ruse with the water, 21; designs to fly, 21; defence against the ram, 23; sallies, 24; Josephus prepares against the storm, 26; repulses the Romans, 27, 28; the city is taken by surprise, 31; Josephus takes refuge in a cavern, 32; Nicanor urges him to surrender, 33; his speech to his comrades, 34, 35; stratagem to escape, 36; his prophecy when brought before Vespasian, 37; his treatment, 38; his marriage and divorce, i. 78; sentiments with respect to him at Jerusalem, ii. 40; he is liberated by Vespasian, 105; invites the Jews to terms, 123; rides round Jerusalem, 136, 142; speech, urging the Jews to submit, 146-151; is struck down by a stone, 163; speech to the Jews, 179, 180; urges surrender, 203; rescues some Jews after the capture of Jerusalem, i. 79; gifts and pension from Vespasian, 79; Jonathan's conspiracy against him, 79; ii. 252; his divorce, re-marriage, and children, i. 80; the imperial favour shown towards him, 80; his marriage, cxxiv.; his early capacity, cxxviii. cxxix.; his voyage to Rome, cxxxii.; his last years, cliv.; early testimonies to him, cliv.-clix.; his personal character and credibility, i. 1-28, cxxii.-clix., cxxxix. cxliii. cxlvi. cl. cli.

Joshua, *son of Nun*, ii. 91.

Joshua, *chief priest, son of Gamala*, i. 53, 55; ii. 66, 73, *seq.*; death, 80.

Joshua, *son of Sapphias, one of the chief priests, made general in Idumæa*, i. 248.

Joshua, *of Tiberias, son of Sapphias*, i. 39; plots against Josephus, i. 47, 60, (?) 62, 252; ii. 41, 42.

Joshua, *a brigand chief*, i. 43.

Joshua, *son of Saphat*, ii. 41, 42. (*Perhaps the same as one of the two preceding.*)

Joshua, *a Galilean*, i. 54.

Joshua, *of Tiberias, son of Pistus*, i. 52.

Joshua *of Gamala*, i. 52.

JOTAPATA, *a city of Galilee*, i. 53, 58, 78; ii. 15, 18-32; for incidents of the siege see under "Josephus;" its site, cxviii.

Jotape, *daughter of Aristobulus, and great-grand-daughter of Herod the Great*, i. 212.

Juba, *king of Libya*, i. 200.

Jucundus, *master of the horse to Herod the Great*, i. 160, 219.

JUDÆA: described, ii. 9, 10; it is liberated by Simon the Maccabee, i. 92, &c.; is divided into five toparchies by Gabinius, 108; is assigned to Antipater, 113; Herod is made king of Judæa, 125; Judæa is devastated by an earthquake, 137; adorned by Herod, 142, &c.; is assigned to Archelaus, 198; reduced to a province, 206; assigned to Agrippa, 211;

JUDÆA (*continued.*)

state of anarchy, 213, 215, 218, &c., 238, 258; again reduced to a province, 215; rebels, 248, &c.; its state, ii. 63; is subdued by the Romans, 88, 90, &c.; overrun by Simon, 96-99; is sold by Vespasian, 233; summary of its history, clxiii.-clxxv.

JUDAS MACCABEUS, i. 91, 92; clxiv.

Judas, *an Essene*, i. 96.

Judas, *a brigand*, i. 194.

Judas, *son of Sepphoræus, a sophist*, i. 178.

JUDAS, *the Galilean*, i. 23, 200; ii. 236. [*Compare Acts v. 37.*]

Judas, *son of Jonathan*, ii. 237, 255.

Judas, *son of Merton*, ii. 178, 183.

Judas, *father of Manahem*, i. 235.

Judas, *a colleague of Josephus*, i. 34.

Judes, *son of Chelkias*, ii. 113.

Judes, *son of Judas*, ii. 162.

Judes, *son of Ari*, ii. 178, 233.

JULIA (LIVIA), *wife of Augustus*, i. 166, 206.

Julia, *daughter of Augustus*, i. 190.

Julian, *a centurion of Bithynia*, ii. 177, 178.

Julias, *a city of Peræa*, i. 206, 215; ii. 90.

Julias (Bethsaida), *a city near the Lake of Gennesareth*, i. 76, 206; ii. 10, 46.

Jupiter Casius, *temple of*, ii. 108.

Jupiter Capitolinus, *temple of, at Rome*, ii. 228.

Justus, *of Tiberias, son of Pistus*, i. 35, 36, 52, 63, 70, 76, 78; cxxxvi. cxlvii.-cxlix.

Justus, *son of Josephus*, i. 31, 80.

Justus, *one of Josephus' body-guard*, i. 76.

Kedasa, *a city of Phœnicia*, i. 238.

KEDRON, *a brook and ravine near Jerusalem*, ii. 119, 188. (*See Plates of Siloam, &c.*)

Kulat Ibn' Ma'an, *a haunt of robbers in Galilee*, lxxxv. (*Plate.*)

Lacedæmon, ii. 235.

Ladder of the Tyrians, *a mountain*, i. 208.

Laodicea, *a city of Syria, taken by Cassius*, i. 117, 145.

Læcius Lepidus, *commander of the tenth legion*, ii. 191.

LEBANON, i. 181.

Levi, *a Jew, guard of Josephus*, i. 51, 257.

Levias, *a Jew of Jerusalem*, ii. 64.

Liberalius, *a Roman centurion*, ii. 194.

Liberius Maximus. See Maximus.

Libya, ii. 103.

Lollius, *a Roman general, takes Damascus*, i. 103.

Longinus, *a tribune*, i. 246.

Longinus, *a brave Roman soldier*, ii. 141.

Longus, *a brave Roman*, ii. 187.

Lucius, *a Roman soldier*, ii. 187.

Lucullus, Licinius,—*Roman general*, i. 101.

Lupus, (Numisius?) *in command at Alexandria*, ii. 249, 250.

Lycians, i. 145.

INDEX.

- Lydda (Diospolis), a city of Judæa, i. 103, (?) 214, 243; ii. 10, 90.
 Lysanias, son of Ptolemy the son of Menæus, i. 120.
 Lysanias, kingdom of, (Abilene,) i. 211.
 Mabortha (Neapolis), ii. 91. *See* Neapolis.
 MACCABEES. *See* ASMONÆANS.
 Macedonians, i. 241.
 Macedonians, a body of troops so called, ii. 156.
 Machæras, a Roman general, i. 130.
 MACHÆRUS, a fortress of Palestine, i. 197, 109, 240; ii. 9, 99, 229-232.
 Magdala, (Gamala ?) in Galilee, i. 44; lxxii. (Plate.)
 Malachias, a Jewish warrior, ii. 178.
 Malchus, ii. 11.
 Malichus, king of Arabia, i. 124.
 Malichus, a Jew, i. 108, 116, 117.
 Malthace, wife of Herod the Great, i. 165, 192.
 Malûl, lxxiii. (Plate.)
 Manahem, son of Judas, i. 235, 236.
 Manasseh, commander in Peræa, i. 249.
 Mannæus, son of Lazarus, ii. 165.
 March of a Roman army, described, ii. 15.
 Margalus, father of Matthias, i. 178.
 MARIAMNE, daughter of Alexander and wife of Herod the Great, i. 119, 133, 146-148, 165.
 Mariamne, daughter of Simon the chief priest and wife of Herod the Great, i. 165, 171.
 Mariamne, daughter of Aristobulus, and grand-daughter of Herod the Great, i. 164.
 Mariamne, daughter of Hyrcanus, i. 122.
 Mariamne, daughter of Agrippa, i. 211.
 Mariamne, daughter of Joseph and wife of Herod, king of Chalcis, i. 212.
 Mariamne, wife of Archelaus, i. 200.
 Mariamne, a tower built by Herod at Jerusalem, i. 236; ii. 128, 215.
 Marion, tyrant of Tyre, i. 118.
 Marissa, a city of Judæa, i. 94, 107, 123.
 Marmaridæ, an African nation, i. 229.
 Mary, daughter of Eleazar, ii. 188, 189.
 MASADA, a Jewish fortress on the borders of the Dead Sea, i. 118, 122, 126, 232, 235, 258; ii. 87, 95, 99; description of it, and its reduction, 238-248; cix.-cxv. (Three Plates.)
 Matthias, high priest, ii. 100, 161, 162; his sons, 180.
 Matthias, an ancestor of Josephus, i. 31.
 Matthias, surnamed Kyrtus, son of the above, i. 31.
 Matthias, father of Josephus, i. 31, 32; ii. 162.
 Matthias, brother of Josephus, i. 32.
 Matthias, the father of the Maccabees, son of Asmonæus, i. 90.
 Matthias, son of Margalus, a sophist, i. 178.
 Maximus, Liberius, procurator of Judæa, A.D. 72; ii. 233.
 Medaba, a city of Palestine, i. 94.
 Media, ii. 235.
 Megassarua, a Jew, ii. 157.
 Meirus, a priest, ii. 195.
 Melamboreas, the "black norther" of the Levant, ii. 39.
 Melchisedec, the founder of Jerusalem, ii. 209.
 Melitene, on the Euphrates, ii. 217.
 Melo, island of, i. 199.
 Memnon, tomb of, i. 208.
 Memphis, (in Egypt,) ii. 97.
 Mendesian district, ii. 108.
 Meroth, a village of Galilee, i. 53; ii. 8.
 Messala, the Roman orator, i. 119, 125.
 Messalina, wife of Claudius, i. 215.
 Metellus Scipio, Q. Cæcilius, president of Syria, B.C. 49; i. 103.
 Metilius, a Roman general, i. 237.
 Mithridates, his death, i. 104.
 Mithridates, a Parthian, i. 110.
 Mithridates, of Pergamus, i. 111.
 Modin, a village of Judæa, i. 90.
 Modius, a procurator of Agrippa, i. 38, 44, 52.
 Moesia, ii. 223.
 Mœotis, Lake, ii. 235.
 Monobazus, king of Adiabene, i. 244.
 Monobazus, relation of the above, i. 244.
 Monobazus, palace of, ii. 135.
 Moors, i. 229.
 Mounds raised by the Romans, ii. 154, 156, 161, 171, 172, 184, 204.
 Mucianus, Licinius, president of Syria, A.D. 66; ii. 55, 94, 103-107.
 Murcus, proconsul of Syria, B.C. 44; i. 115, 116.
 Nabatæa, i. 110.
 Nain, a village of Judæa, ii. 96.
 Nabata, a district near Cæsarea, i. 220, 243.
 Nasamons, a nation of Africa, i. 229.
 Neapolis (Nabulus), a city of Samaria, ii. 91. *See* Sicima.
 Neopolitanus, commander of a troop of horse, i. 45, 224.
 NERO, EMPEROR, i. 215; ii. 5; his death, 94. (Plate.)
 Netiras, a Galilean, ii. 24.
 Nicanor, a Roman tribune, a friend of Josephus, ii. 33.
 Nicanor, a friend of Titus, probably the same as the preceding, ii. 136.
 Nico, one of the towers constructed by the Romans, ii. 140.
 Nicolaus Damascenus, the historian, i. 177, 189, 191, 197.
 Nicomedes, a Jew, i. 237.
 Nicopolis, a city of Egypt, ii. 108.
 Nicopolis, a city of Epirus, i. 145.
 Niger the Peræite, i. 244, 248; ii. 6; death, 83.
 Nile, ii. 46, 103.
 Noarus, a friend of Agrippa, i. 240.
 Numidians, i. 229.
 Nymphidius, a favourite of Nero, ii. 94.

INDEX.

- Obodas, *king of Arabia*, i. 98.
Octavia, *daughter of Claudius*, i. 215.
Octavian walks, *at Rome*, ii. 226.
Oil, monopoly of, i. 40; cxxxviii.
OLIVES, MOUNT OF, ii. 119, 125, 184, xcix. ci. (*Plates.*)
Olympias, *daughter of Herod the Great*, i. 165.
Olympic games, the, i. 145.
Olympus, *a friend of Herod the Great*, i. 162.
Om Keis (Gadara), xxxv. lxxxviii. *See* Gadara. (*Plate.*)
Onias, *youngest son of Simon, made high priest by Antiochus Epiphanes*, i. 90; ii. 250.
Onias, land of, *in Egypt*, ii. 250.
Ophellius, *a friend of Phasaëlus*, i. 121.
Ophla, or Ophel, *the southern quarter of Jerusalem*, i. 236; ii. 126; burnt, 202; cxv. (*See Plate of Siloam.*)
Ormiza, *a place on the borders of Judæa*, i. 137.
Orsanes, *a Parthian*, i. 110.
Ostracine, *in Egypt*, ii. 108.
OTHO, EMPEROR, ii. 94, 98.
- Pacorus, *son of Aras king of Parthia*, i. 120, 130.
Pacorus, *king of Media, son of Artabanus*, ii. 235.
PÆTUS, CÆSENNIUS, *president of Syria*, A.D. 71; ii. 220, 233, 234.
Palace of Herod, *at Jerusalem*, ii. 128, 202.
Pallas, *a wife of Herod the Great*, i. 165.
Pallas, *brother of Felix the procurator of Judæa*, i. 214.
Pamphilia, i. 125.
Paneas, *district of, (Cæsarea Philippi)*, i. 206.
Panium, *the origin of the Jordan*, i. 142; ii. 46.
Pannychis, *a concubine of Herod the Great*, i. 158.
Pappus, *a general of Antigonus*, i. 132.
Papyron, *a place in Arabia*, i. 103.
PASSOVER, i. 188, 212; ii. 87, 208.
Pastophoria, *a part of the temple*, ii. 101.
Paulinus, *a tribune*, ii. 32.
Paulinus, *prefect of Alexandria*, ii. 250.
Peace, temple of, *at Rome*, ii. 228.
Pedanius, *a legate*, i. 162.
Pedanius, *a Roman soldier*, ii. 185.
Pella, *a city of Palestine*, i. 107; ii. 9, 10.
Pelusium, *a city of Egypt*, i. 109, 111, 124, 141; ii. 103, 108.
Pentapolis, *in Libya*, ii. 251.
Pentecost, feast of, i. 192.
Peræa, *a district in Palestine*, i. 194; described, ii. 9; 90.
Pergamus, *in Mæsia*, i. 145.
Peristereon, *a rock near Jerusalem*, ii. 160.
Petina, *wife of Claudius*, i. 215.
Petra, *city of*, i. 102.
Petronius, *president of Syria*, A.D. 39; i. 208, 209.
Phabatus, *procurator of Augustus*, i. 167.
Phædra, *a wife of Herod the Great*, i. 165.
Phallion, *brother of Antipater*, i. 103.
Phannias, *made high priest by the Zealots*, ii. 65.
Pharan, *a valley in Judæa*, ii. 96.
PHARISEES, SECT OF: Josephus joins them, i. 32; their rise, 100; their tenets, 205.
Pharos, *near Alexandria*, ii. 104.
Phasaëlis, *a city of Palestine, north of Jericho*, i. 144, 146.
Phasaëlus, *brother of Herod the Great*, i. 110, 113; his death, 123.
Phasaëlus, *son of Herod the Great, by Pallas*, i. 165.
Phasaëlus, *son of Pheroras, nephew and son-in-law of Herod the Great*, i. 166.
Phasaëlus, *a tower in Jerusalem*, i. 144, 192, 236; ii. 128, 215.
PHERORAS, *youngest son of Antipater, and brother of Herod the Great*, i. 110, 129, 154, 156, 157; death, 168, 171.
Pheroras, the wife of, i. 154, 166–171.
Phiala, Lake, *origin of the Jordan*, ii. 46, lxxx.–lxxxiv. (*Plate.*)
Philadelphia, *a city of Palestine*, ii. 9.
Philip, Herod, *son of Herod the Great by Mariamne. See* Herod.
Philip, *tetrarch of Iturea, son of Herod the Great by Cleopatra*, i. 165, 172, 181, 197, 206; ii. 46.
Philip, *son of Jacimus, prefect of Agrippa*, i. 36, 37, 52, 77, 234, 248; relatives of his, ii. 59.
Philip, *a Galilean*, ii. 24.
Philippio, *son of Ptolemy the son of Menæus*, i. 111.
Phineas, *an Idumæan chief*, ii. 73.
Phineas, *treasurer of the temple*, ii. 205.
Phœbus, *a Jew in the service of Agrippa*, i. 244.
PILATE, PONTIUS, *procurator of Judæa*, A.D. 26–36; i. 206.
Pistus, *a Jew of Tiberias*, i. 35.
Pitholaus, *a Jewish leader*, i. 108, 109.
PLACIDUS, *a Roman general*, i. 56, 78; ii. 10, 15, 17, 31, 57, 88, 89.
Plan of Jerusalem, cxix.–cxxii. (*Plate.*)
Platane, *a village of Phœnicia*, i. 162.
Plinthine, *a city of Egypt*, ii. 103.
POMPEY THE GREAT, i. 103; ii. 149, xxxiii. &c. (*Plate.*)
Pomponius Secundus, Quintus, *consul*, i. 210.
Pool at Hebron, xcii. (*Plate.*)
Pool of Bethesda, *at Jerusalem*, cv. *See* Bethesda. (*Plate.*)
Pool of Gihon, *at Jerusalem*, lvii.–lxii. (*Plate.*)
Pool of the Virgin, *at Jerusalem*, cxv. (*Plate.*)
Pools at Jerusalem, lvii.–lxii. clxxxi. &c.
Pools of Solomon, *at Jerusalem*, ii. 126. cil. (*Plate.*)
Poplas, *a friend of Archelaus*, i. 189.
POPPEA, *wife of Nero: Josephus has an interview with her*, i. 33; iv. (*Plate.*)

INDEX.

- Portents at the fall of Jerusalem, ii. 196, 197.
Priests, Jewish, ii. 65, 133, 199; their marriages, cxxiii.
Primus, M. Antonius, a Roman general, ii. 94, 106, 107.
Priscus, Tyrannius, a Roman general, i. 245, 246.
Priscus, a Roman centurion, ii. 186.
Psephinus, a tower at Jerusalem, ii. 118, 125-127.
PTOLEMAIS (AORE), a city of Phœnicia, i. 56, 101, 141, 145, 195; its situation, 208; 238, 239, 242; ii. 8, 9, 11, 15.
Ptolemy VI.—Philometor, i. 90; ii. 250.
Ptolemy VIII.—Lathyrus, i. 97, 101.
Ptolemy XII.—Auletes, i. 109.
Ptolemy, son of Mennæus, governor of Chalcis, i. 111.
Ptolemy, son-in-law of Simon the Maccabee, i. 93.
Ptolemy the Rhodian, a friend of Herod the Great, i. 152, 181, 189.
Ptolemy, a general of Herod's, i. 130.
Ptolemy, procurator of Agrippa, i. 46, 252.
Pudens, a Roman soldier, ii. 186.
Puteoli. See Discearchia.
Pythian temple: rebuilt by Herod, i. 145
- Quadratus, Ummidius, president of Syria, D. 49-60; i. 214.
Quirinus (Cyrenius), president of Syria, A.D. 7; superintends the census, ii. 236. [Compare Luke ii. 2.]
- RAM: described, ii. 23; 137, 138, 157, 190.
Raphanæa, a city of Syria, ii. 217, 224.
Raphia, a city of Judæa, i. 97; ii. 108.
Records, Jewish, cxxv.
Ressa. See Thressa.
Rhinocurura, a city on the borders of Egypt, i. 124; ii. 108.
Rhodes, i. 140, 145.
ROMANS; extent of their dominion described by Agrippa, i. 227; their discipline, 250; ii. 11-14; forces in Syria, 11; encampment, 12; march of their army, 13, 15, 117; pay-day and review, 145; distribution of prizes, 216; Roman triumph described, 226-228.
ROME; Herod goes thither, i. 125; ii. 101, 107, 221, 222, 225-228, 235.
Roxana, daughter of Herod the Great, i. 165.
Rubrius Gallus, a Roman general, ii. 223.
Rufus, Terentius, a Roman general, ii. 218.
Rufus, a Jewish leader, i. 193, 196.
Rufus, a Roman soldier, ii. 231.
Ruma, a village of Galilee, ii. 24.
- Saab, a village of Galilee, ii. 24.
SABBATH, its observance by the Jews, i. 50, 63, 244; ii. 61.
Sabbatical river, in Syria, ii. 224; clxii.
Sabinus, procurator of Augustus in Syria, i. 189, 192, 196.
Sabinus, brother of Vespasian, ii. 107.
- Sabinus, a brave Syrian, ii. 175, 176.
Sacchæus, a Galilean, i. 59.
Sacrifice, daily: ceases, i. 90; ii. 179.
SADDUCEES, sect of, i. 205.
Sadduk, a Jew, i. 237.
Sallia, a town of Idumæa, ii. 7.
SALOME, sister of Herod the Great; married—1st, Joseph; 2d, Costobarus; 3d, Alexas; i. 110, 148, 153, 161, 165, 177, 189, 198, 206.
Salome, daughter of Herod the Great, i. 154, 165.
Samæa, a city of Palestine, i. 94.
Samaria, district of, described, ii. 9.
SAMARIA, city of, called Sebaste by Herod, i. 94, 142, 195, 198, 213, 238.
Samos, island of, i. 145.
Samosata, the capital of Commagene, i. 130; ii. 234.
Sampho, a village of Samaria, i. 195.
Sanctuary, ii. 116, 131; destroyed, 193, 194.
Sanhedrim, i. 26, 38.
Sapphinus, a friend of Herod the Great, i. 125.
Saramalla, a wealthy Syrian, i. 121.
Sarmatians, a nation of Scythia, ii. 223.
Saturninus, president of Syria, A.D. 2; i. 162.
Saturnius, Cn. Lentius, consul, i. 210.
Saul, a relation of Agrippa, i. 233, 248.
Saul, a Jew of Scythopolis, father of Simon, i. 239.
Scaurus, president of Syria, B.C. 68; i. 103.
Scipio, an officer of Pompey, i. 111.
Scopus, near Jerusalem, i. 245, 246; why so called, ii. 119, clxxiii.
SCYTHOPOLIS, a city of Palestine, i. 34, 94, 238; ii. 38; lxxvi-lxxix. (Plate.)
Sebaste, the name given to Samaria by Herod. See Samaria.
Sebaste, the haven of Casarea, i. 173.
Sebonitis, or Essebonitis, a district of Palestine, i. 238.
Selamin, a village of Galilee, i. 53.
Seleucia, a fortress of Gaulanitis, i. 53; ii. 53.
Semechonitis, a lake in Galilee, ii. 46, 53.
Senacherib, king of Assyria, ii. 148.
Sennabris, a place near Tiberias, ii. 40.
Seph, a fortress of Galilee, i. 249.
Sepphoræus, father of Judas, i. 173.
SEPPHORIS, a city of Galilee, i. 35, 53, 58, 74, 128, 194, 195, 243, 249; ii. 8, 10, xii. (Plate.)
Serpents' Pool, near Jerusalem, ii. 123.
Servilius, a Roman legate, i. 109.
Sextus Cæsar, president of Syria, B.C. 47; i. 113; assassinated, 115.
Sicima, Shechem, or Neapolis, a city of Samaria, i. 94; ii. 91.
Sidon, city of, i. 145.
Sigo, or Sigoph, a village of Galilee, i. 53, 249.
SIKARS, their rise, i. 215, 234; ii. 87, 236, 237, 249, 251. See Brigands.
Silas the Babylonian, i. 244; ii. 6.

INDEX.

- Silas, *prefect of Tiberias*, (probably the same as the preceding,) i. 42, 63, 254.
- Silbonitis, a district of Palestine, ii. 9.
- Silo, a Roman general, i. 126.
- SILLOAM, fountain of, ii. 125, 151, 206, xcvi. (Plate.)
- Siloam, valley of, ii. 160.
- Silva, Flavius, a Roman general, ii. 236, 240, 241.
- SIMON the Maccabee, i. 92; murdered, 93; clxv.
- Simon, a servant of Herod, i. 194.
- Simon, son of Ananias, i. 233.
- Simon, an Essene, i. 200.
- SIMON, SON OF GIORAS: his character, ii. 95; attacks Cestius at Bethhoron, i. 244; plunders the country round Masada, 258, ii. 95; makes Nain his head-quarters, 96; defeats the Zealots, and attacks the Idumæans, 96; subjugates Idumæa and Hebron, 97; the Zealots capture his wife—his revenge, 98; he is admitted within Jerusalem, 100; attacks the Temple, 101; his conflicts with John's party, 114, 115; disposition of his forces, 135; plies his engines against the Romans, 136, 140; deference paid to him, 141; attacks the rams, 157; his cruelties, 162, 237; invites Titus to a conference, 199; Idumæans attempt to desert him, 204; takes refuge in the caverns, 217; delivers himself up to the Romans, and is sent to Rome, 218; is put to death at the triumph, 228.
- Simon, son of Saul, i. 239.
- Simon, son of Cathlas, an Idumæan chief, ii. 73, 76, 135, 183.
- Simon, son of Ezron, ii. 113.
- Simon, son of Gamaliel, i. 53, 67, 68; ii. 66; cxlv.
- Simon, son of Ari, a chief of the Zealots, ii. 135, 178, 183.
- Simon, son of Josias, ii. 183.
- Simon Psellus, an ancestor of Josephus, i. 31.
- Simon, of Gabara, i. 46.
- Simon, a servant of Josephus, i. 47.
- Simon, of Gischala, brother of John, i. 53.
- Simon, son of Jonathan, i. 255.
- Simonias, a village of Galilee, i. 45.
- Simonides, son of Josephus, i. 80.
- Sion. See Zion.
- Sisenna, a legate of Syria, i. 109.
- Sodom, land of, ii. 93.
- Sodom, apples of, ii. 93.
- Sohemus, of Petra, i. 167.
- Sohemus, king of Emesa, i. 240, 242; ii. 234.
- Sogana, a village of Galilee, i. 62.
- Soganni, a town of Gaulanitis, i. 53; ii. 53.
- Solomon, pools of, ii. 126. (Plate.)
- Solyma, a village of Gaulanitis, i. 53.
- Somorrha, ii. 91.
- Sophas, son of Raguel, ii. 64.
- Sosius, president of Syria, B.C. 38; i. 131, 135; ii. 149.
- Spain, i. 229.
- Stephen, a servant of Claudius, i. 213.
- Stone at Baalbec, cxvi. (Plate.)
- Strato's Tower (Cæsarea), i. 96, 107, 143, 198.
- Strato's Tower, in Jerusalem, i. 96.
- Streets in Jerusalem, ii. 143, 206, xcvi. clxxxiii. (Two Plates.)
- Struthios, a pool at Jerusalem, ii. 156.
- Syene, a city of Egypt, ii. 103.
- Sylla, a general in service of Agrippa, i. 76.
- Syllæus, procurator of Obodas, i. 154, 161, 166, 167.
- Syria, i. 238.
- Syrtes of Africa, i. 229.
- TABOR, MOUNT, i. 53; ii. 53; described, 57, lxiii. (See Plates of the Great Plain.)
- Tanais river, ii. 235.
- Tanis, a city of Egypt, ii. 108.
- Tarentum, in Italy, i. 173.
- TARICHMA, a city of Galilee: situation, i. 50; described, ii. 42, 46, 49; fortified by Josephus, 53, 249; disturbances there, 252, 256; taken by Vespasian, 42-45; the inhabitants take refuge on the lake, 45; they are destroyed by the Romans, 47, &c. x. xi. cxliv. (Plate.)
- Tarsus, of Cilicia, ii. 235.
- Temenus, one of the Heracleidæ, i. 158.
- TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM: described, ii. 129-134; is pillaged by Antiochus Epiphanes, i. 90; attacked by Pompey, and taken, 105; entered by Pompey, 106; plundered by Crassus, 110; Sosius tries to enter, 135; is splendidly restored by Herod, 142; the golden eagle at the gate of the temple is cut down, 179; riot in the temple at the Passover, 188, 190; conflict in the temple between the Jews and Romans, 192; colonnades, &c. burnt, 193, and rebuilt, 232; the insurgents take possession of the temple, 234; Cestius attacks it, 245; it is made a fortress by the Zealots, ii. 65, 101, 113; massacre in the temple, 122; description of the temple, 129-134; its position, 129; colonnades, 130; women's court, 130; gates, 131; the sanctuary, 131; Holy of Holies, 132; its appearance from without, 132; the Antonia, 134; the temple is plundered by John, 165; its profanation by the Jews, 181; is attacked by the Romans from the Antonia, 188; colonnades burnt, 185; Romans attempt to storm it, 190; gates fired, 191; Jews driven to the inner court, 192; the temple is on fire, 193; Titus enters it, 193; chronology of the temple, 194; the slaughter within it, 195; ensigns brought in, 198; it is razed to the foundations, 215; vessels of the temple, 228; date of its foundation, &c. clxi; rebuilt by Herod, clxix. clxxix; vaults beneath it, xiv.-xxv. xcv. See "Harem," "Vaults," "Jerusalem," "Wall," &c. (Plates.)
- Temple of Heliopolis, built by Onias, in Egypt, i. 90, 94; described, ii. 250; clx.
- Tephthæus, a Galilean, ii. 157.
- Terentius Rufus, a Roman general, ii. 218.

INDEX.

Teridates, king of Armenia, ii. 235.

Tero, a soldier, i. 163.

Thamna, a city of Judæa, ii. 10, 90.

Theatre near Gadara, xxxv. (Plate.)

Thecoa, a town of Judæa, i. 79; ii. 96, lxi.

Thella, a village of Galilee, ii. 8.

Theodorus, son of Zeno, i. 97.

Theudio, brother-in-law of Herod the Great, i. 170.

Thmuis, a city of Egypt, ii. 108.

Threasa, or Ressa, a fortress of Idumæa, i. 122, 127.

TIBERIAS, a city of Galilee: built by Herod Antipas, i. 208; its situation, 71; it revolts, 35; Herod's palace destroyed, and the Greek population massacred, 39; its hot baths, 41; Josephus' danger there, 42, 254; disturbances, 47; Josephus fortifies the city, 50, 53; his stratagem against the inhabitants, 51, 256; John excites disturbances there, 63-66; Josephus takes the town, 69; and rescues it from destruction, 75; assembly at Tiberias, 208; the city is assigned to Agrippa, 215; Josephus flies thither, ii. 16; Vespasian spares the city, 41; Tarichæans shut up there, 48; viii. cvl. cvii. cxliv. (Two Plates.)

Tiberias, Lake of. *See* Gennesareth.

TIBERIUS, EMPEROR, i. 206.

TIBERIUS ALEXANDER, procurator of Judæa, and afterwards of Egypt; was nephew of Philo Judæus; i. 212, 221, 441; is the first to declare for Vespasian, ii. 104; 117, 160, 191.

Tigillinus, an unscrupulous favourite of Nero, ii. 94.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, i. 101.

Tigranes, son of Alexander, and grandson of Herod the Great, i. 164.

Timber market, in Jerusalem, i. 245.

TITUS (FLAVIUS SAVINUS VESPASIANUS), EMPEROR, son of Vespasian, born A.D. 40, served in Britain and Germany, became Emperor A.D. 79, died A.D. 81; authenticates the "Jewish War," i. 73; his friendship for Josephus, 78-80; is sent by Vespasian to Alexandria, ii. 5; arrives at Ptolemais, 11, 24; takes Japha, 29; storms Jotapata, 31; befriends Josephus, 38; his speech to the soldiers at Tarichæa, 43; takes Tarichæa, 45; is sent to Mucianus, 55; storms Gamala, 58; appears before Gischala, 60; is cajoled by John, 61; enters Gischala, 62; starts for Rome, but returns, 95; befriends Josephus, 105; marches from Alexandria to Cesarea, 108; he advances to Jerusalem, 117; is attacked while reconnoitering, 118; succours the 10th legion, 120; his bravery, 121; clears the ground round Jerusalem, 122; act of discipline, 124; advances nearer the city, 125; Titus constructs mounds, 136; quiets a disturbance, 139; moves his camp, takes the first wall, 140;

TITUS, EMPEROR (continued.)

his influence with the soldiery, 141; is cajoled by the Jews, 142; takes the second wall, 143; but is driven out, 144; reviews his troops, 145; his treatment of the captives, 155; tries to rescue the engine, 158; surrounds the city with a wall of circumvallation, 159, 161, 164; batters the wall, 173; addresses his troops, 174; attacks the temple from the Antonia, 177; razes the Antonia, 179; his reception of the deserters, 181; he addresses the insurgents, 182; encourages the attack on the temple, 183; batters the temple wall, 190; holds a council of generals, 191; enters the temple during its conflagration, 193; is saluted as Emperor, 198; his addresses to the insurgent chiefs, 199-201; erects mounds against the upper town, 204; enters it, 207; his treatment of the captives, 207; razes the city, 215; distributes rewards, 216; goes to Cesarea, and thence to Cesarea Philippi, 217; celebrates Domitian's birthday, 218; arrives at Antioch, 224; and at Jerusalem, 225; proceeds to Alexandria, and thence to Rome, 225; triumphs with his father, 226-228; befriends Josephus, 252. (Plate.)

Titus Phrygius, a Roman general, ii. 191.

Tobias, the sons of, i. 90.

Tower near Jordan, xc. (Plate.)

Towers constructed by Romans, ii. 139.

Towers at Jerusalem, ii. 127, seq., 206, 207, 215. *See also* Hippius, Phasælus, Mariamne, &c. (Plates.)

Trachonitis, a district of Palestine, i. 44, 141, 198.

Trajan, a Roman general, ii. 29, 41, 44, 91.

Tripoli, in Phœnicia, i. 145. cvii. (Plate.)

Trypho, guardian of Antiochus Theos, and afterwards king, i. 92.

Tryphon, one of Herod's barbers, i. 163.

Tyrannius Priscus. *See* Priscus.

Tyrannus, master of the horse to Herod the Great, i. 160.

Tyre, i. 145.

Tyrians, i. 239.

Tyropæon valley, or Valley of the Cheesemakers, running between Zion and the Temple, ii. 125; xxvii. *See* Bridge. *See also* Plates of Viaduct, &c.

Ummidius Quadratus, president of Syria. *See* Quadratus.

Upper Market Place, in Jerusalem, ii. 125.

Valens, a general of Vitellius, ii. 98.

Valerian, a decurion, ii. 41.

Valley of Thorns, near Jerusalem, ii. 117. (*See* Plate of Anathoth.)

Varro, president of Syria, B.C. 27; i. 141.

Varus, Quinctilius, president of Syria, B.C. 4; i. 37, 174, 189, 192, 195.

Vaults beneath the Temple, i. 95; xiv.-xxv. xl. ciii. (*See* Plates.)

INDEX.

Ventidius, Bassus, *President of Syria*, B.C. 39; i. 126, 129.

VESPASIAN (TITUS FLAVIUS), EMPEROR, arrives at Tyre, i. 77; patronises Josephus, 80; is sent by Nero against the Jews, ii. 5; his previous service, 5; is admitted by the Sepphorites, 8; marches from Ptolemais, 15; takes Gadara in Galilee, 16; arrives before Jotapata, 17; constructs mounds, 19; determines on a blockade, 20; brings up the ram, 23; prepares for the storm, 26; the storm, 27; takes Jotapata by stratagem, 31; Josephus is brought before him, 37; Vespasian goes to Cæsarea, 38; takes Joppa, 39; goes to Cæsarea Philippi, 40; subdues Tiberias, 41; and Tarichæa, 42-45; slaughters the insurgents on the lake, 47; he attacks Gamala, 54; is repulsed, 55; his speech, 56; takes Tabor, 57; and Gamala, 58; sends Titus against Gischala, 60; Vespasian is urged to march against Jerusalem—his reply, 84; he takes Gadara in Peræa, 88; hears of the disturbances at Rome, 94; sends Titus to Rome, 95; subdues the country round Jerusalem, 99; is proclaimed Emperor by the legions, 102, 103; joined by Tiberius Alexander, 104; liberates Josephus, 105; Rome declares for Vespasian, 107; Vespasian proceeds to Alexandria, 107; and sends Titus against Jerusalem, 108; he pursues his journey to Rome, 217; his reception there, 221; Vespasian and Titus triumph at Rome, 226-228; investigates the charge against Josephus, 252. (*Plate.*)

Vespasian, commentaries of, i. 70.

Viaduct from the Temple to Zion, cix. *See* Bridge. (*Plate.*)

Vienne, a city of Gaul, i. 200.

Vindex, leader of the revolt in Gaul, ii. 90.

Virgin, Pool of, at Jerusalem, cxv. (*Plate.*)

Vitellius, a German rebel, ii. 222.

VITELLIUS, EMPEROR, born A.D. 15; proclaimed Emperor, A.D. 69; reigned about eight months; ii. 94, 98, 101.

Vologeses, king of the Parthians, ii. 224-235.

Volumnius, a military tribune, i. 162.

Wailing, Jews' place of, cviii. (*Plate.*)

Wall of circumvallation, built by the Romans, ii. 160.

WALLS OF JERUSALEM described, ii. 126-129; first wall taken by Romans, 140; second wall taken, 143, 144; 173; all razed except a small portion, 215; xxi. xxii. xxvi. xxxi. xxxii. xlii.-xlix. lxx. lxxxvii. xciv. xcvi. cxx. cxxi. (*Twenty Plates.*)

White cliff, at Masada, ii. 240; cxii. (*Plates.*)

Women's court of the Temple, ii. 130.

Women's towers, in Jerusalem, ii. 118, 123.

Xaloth, a village of Galilee, i. 57; ii. 8.

Xylophory, feast of, i. 234.

Xystus, in Jerusalem, i. 225; ii. 101, 126, 199, 204. xxviii. cix. (*See Plate of Viaduct.*)

Zabulun, a city of Galilee, i. 242; ii. 8.

Zacharias, son of Phalek, a Zealot, ii. 72.

Zacharias, son of Baruch, a Jew, ii. 81.

Zara, a town of Judæa, i. 92.

ZEALOTS, i. 26; ii. 66, seq., 69, seq., 72, seq., 78-85, 96, 98, seq., 113, 122, 135, 237.

Zeno, surnamed Cotylas, tyrant of Philadelphia, i. 93.

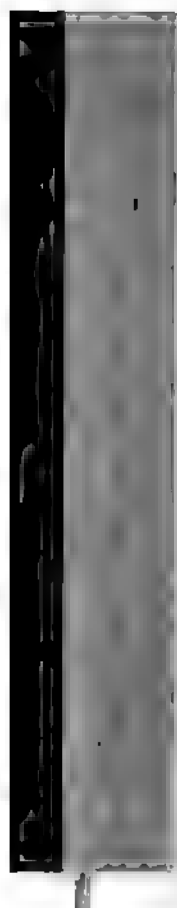
Zenodorus, tetrarch of Trachonitis, i. 141.

Zephyrium, a promontory in Cilicia, i. 150.

Zeugma, a city on the Euphrates, ii. 224.

ZION, the upper town, ii. 204, seq., to 207 xxvi. xcvi. (*Plates.*)

Zoar, a city near the Dead Sea, ii. 93.



LIST OF PLATES IN VOLUME I.



| | |
|--|---------------------|
| Medallion of Vespasian | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
| Medallion of Poppæa | <i>Page 33</i> |
| The Hot Baths of Tiberias | 41 |
| Magdala | 44 |
| Tarichæa | 50 |
| Sepphoris | 74 |
| Medallion of Domitian | 80 |
| Vaulted Passage beneath El Aksa | 96 |
| Excavation : City Wall, North | 105 |
| Elevation of the Wall and Spring-Stones | <i>ibid.</i> |
| Medallion of Pompey | 106 |
| Masada, the Dead Sea, and Mountains of Moab | 126 |
| Upper Pool of Gihon, and West Side of Jerusalem | 127 |
| Hatîn | 129 |
| Cæsarea | 143 |
| Herodium | 144 |
| Remains of a Theatre, near the Lake of Galilee | 145 |
| Malûl, and the Great Plain | 208 |
| Medallion of Nero | 215 |
| Ruins at Cæsarea | 219 |
| Remains of an Arch springing from the Haram Wall : West | 225 |
| Ruins at Cæsarea (<i>Upright Plate.</i>) | 237 |
| Gennesareth | 249 |
| The Great Plain | 252 |
| Entablature and Window, Haram : South Front | xvi |
| Entrance to the Vaults beneath the Mosque El Aksa | xvii |
| El Aksa, and the Haram Wall, from the Brow of Zion (<i>Outline Plate.</i>) | xx |
| Double Archway in the Haram Wall : South | xxii |
| Plan and Elevation of the Vaults | xxiv |
| Haram Wall : South-East Corner (<i>Outline Plate</i>) | xxxi |
| Haram Wall : South Front, East Corner | xxxii |
| Vaulted Hall beneath El Aksa | xi |
| Wall near St. Stephen's Gate | xlii |
| Interior Wall, near the Damascus Gate | xlvi |



LIST OF PLATES IN VOLUME II.

| | |
|--|---------------------|
| Medallion of Augustus | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
| Scythopolis | <i>Page 8</i> |
| Gadara | 16 |
| Tiberias | 41 |
| Beit Jenn | 46 |
| The Lake Phiala | <i>ibid.</i> |
| Masada, Northern Face | 87 |
| Tower near Jericho | 89 |
| View from Mount of Olives, looking East | 91 |
| Mosque at Hebron | 97 |
| Pool at Hebron | 99 |
| Tripoli | 104 |
| Gaza | 108 |
| Anathoth | 117 |
| Mount of Olives, from the Brow of Zion | 120 |
| Vault beneath the Mosque, El Aksa | 122 |
| Western Angle of the City Wall | 123 |
| Plan of Jerusalem | 125 |
| Hippicus | 126 |
| Haram, Principal Entrance | 131 |
| North-east Corner of the Haram | 134 |
| A Street in Jerusalem | 143 |
| Pool of Bethesda | 173 |
| Colossal Stone in the Quarry, Baalbec | 190 |
| The Golden Gate | 198 |
| Conjectural View of the Viaduct, as in the time of Herod | 199 |
| Zion | 204 |
| Siloam | 206 |
| A Street in Jerusalem (A.) | <i>ibid.</i> |
| Hippicus (A.) | 215 |
| Damascus Gate | <i>ibid.</i> |
| Pool of the Virgin | 217 |
| Jews' Place of Wailing | 225 |
| Medallion of Titus | 226 |
| Masada | 238 |
| Ibn Ma'an | lxxxv |
| Medallion of Julius Cæsar | lxxxix |
| Djebail | xcv |
| The Pools of Solomon | cii |
| Outline Plate of the Vaults | ciii |
| Medallion of Antiochus | clxvi |







